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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

May-June 1952

WHERE SOCIAL ACTION AND SOCIAL RESEARCH MEET

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The phrase *action research* seems to have been coined by the late great psychologist Kurt Lewin.¹ He thought of it as applying primarily to experimental research in ongoing social situations, although it was quickly extended to all practical social research. If the term was new, the idea was not: Chapin published a paper on experimentation in realistic social situations in 1917,² and in subsequent years he and his students carried out such experiments. The idea is even older: whenever man has had the idea of experimenting with social relations or social structures and observing the changed results, there has been action research.

The effects of most modern social action are not so readily apparent. When the social action organizations—government, business, trade unions, pressure groups, advertising agencies—carry out a policy, they often wonder whether it is having any effect. Very occasionally they call in a social scientist to help give them the answer to that question. The social scientist may use that type of action research known in some circles as "evaluation." He has some measuring device—a questionnaire to be filled in by persons to whom the program is directed or a scale to be filled in by a trained observer. He uses objective indices—such as number of persons attending a meeting, amount of discussion from the floor, volunteering for committee assignments; or he uses subjective indices—statements of attitude, expressions of feeling toward others, indications of knowledge or ignorance. He takes a measurement before the program begins and another one after the program has been in operation for some time, and he may (should) use a control group to see whether any change

¹ For a history of the term *action research*, see the exchange of letters between Z. Toeman and Laura Thompson in *The Scientific Monthly*, 70:345-46, May 1950.

² F. Stuart Chapin, "The Experimental Method and Sociology," *Scientific Monthly*, February-March 1917; reprinted in modified form in Chapin's *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), pp. 1-28.

noted is due to the program or to other forces which affect all groups simultaneously. That is his experiment,³ and in so far as he has employed it on a significant social program, it is action research. A not insignificant amount of such research is now going on, and more is discussed for the future.

Such evaluation can be, and frequently is, disturbing to the action person. The program he works so hard on is held up for inspection and is frequently pronounced to be seriously deficient or absolutely useless. This is damaging to his ego and almost useless for his purpose, as it tells him only what he should *not* do rather than what he *should* do.

Two other principles need, therefore, to be introduced into evaluation. One is that the action person himself should be encouraged to adopt an experimental attitude. He should constantly vary his techniques and approaches, noting the strengths and weaknesses of each, and never stop experimenting until he is absolutely certain that his techniques work. Social action—which we understand to be any type of activity designed to get a portion of the public to change its behavior in some way—should be conceived of as a game, in which the action person plays *several* roles rather than following an administrative routine where there is no deviation from one policy. Then, when the research person comes in to evaluate, his problem becomes one of determining *which* of the various techniques that might be employed is the best one and *which* best fits the needs of each type of social situation. This information is useful to the action person and is not likely to be damaging to his ego. A simple example of how to vary techniques would be to take the same message, couch it alternately in terms of rational objective arguments, emotional exhortation, self-interest, questionings to promote catharsis. Each of these techniques should be used with distinct groups and the varying results, if any, carefully noted.

The second principle that needs to be introduced into evaluation research is that it should be incorporated into the action process rather than regarded as something above and beyond it. What has frequently happened in the past is that the research person is not called in to evaluate until the action program is well under way. He has no choice then but simply to evaluate what there is. It is much simpler for him, and much more useful to the action person, if the research is incorporated into the action program from the beginning. Evaluation puts the action person

³ The scientific weaknesses of such "experiments" have been discussed by Chapin (*ibid.*) and by Arnold M. Rose, "Conditions of the Social Science Experiment," *American Sociological Review*, 13:616-19, October 1948.

into closer contact with the people he is trying to influence, and it serves as a critical mirror which he holds up to himself constantly so that he can learn where his blemishes are. The role of the research scientist in this kind of evaluation is simply to act as a consultant, showing the action person how he can be more experimental and more critical. If necessary, he can also formally measure the effectiveness of the action.

When the action is to take place in an entire community, the research scientist has some special functions that he can perform along with the evaluation. One is what may be called the "obstacles and possibilities" plan of research.⁴ In essaying the "before action" state of mind of the population, he can answer questions such as the following:

1. What kinds of people, especially in the community's leadership, will be the most cooperative with the action program?
2. What kinds of people are most in need of the action program, in terms of the value premises of the action person?
3. What existing groups and organizations in the community have purposes similar or sympathetic to the action program so that their institutional facilities and channels of communication might be used?
4. What vested interests will be challenged by the action program?
5. What persons and organizations are there in the community from whom it is advisable to seek clearance, even though they are not likely to have any interest whatsoever in the action program?
6. What are the most effective channels of communication in the community?
7. To what extent is potential leadership actual leadership? Can some of the unused potential leadership be drawn into the action program?
8. What are some of the felt needs of the community? Can any of these needs be joined in some way to the action program, so that the latter is identified with the satisfaction of a felt need?

The list could be extended almost indefinitely. The purpose of the questions is to find out as much as possible about the possibilities for, and obstacles to, the action program before the latter is put into operation. Many of the questions can be repeated after the action program has been

⁴ An example occurs in an unpublished study by Helen Schneider and Dean Manheimer of the American Jewish Committee, in collaboration with the present writer, of a small city in New England, with its possibilities and obstacles for a group discussion program.

under way for some time to see if it is having any effect (notably Questions 1, 2, 3, 7, 8). Other questions not in the list will also have to be asked, of course.

A second type of community survey which is useful to an action program, although not intended to be evaluative of the program, is the community self-survey. This survey fits the traditional pattern of surveys⁵ in content, but not in method. It is purely descriptive, and its only innovation is that the research work is carried on by participant members of the community rather than by trained research people. The idea has probably been used casually for decades, but the first systematic use of it as part of an action research program seems to have been due to the stimulation of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Director of the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association and Chairman of the Social Science Department at Fisk University. He and his assistants organized self-surveys of discriminatory practices in Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco. Their work was observed, improved upon, and made more rigorous scientifically by staff members of the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress.⁶

The community surveys and most evaluation research are simple enough to be done by untrained persons of high general intelligence and knowledge, provided they are directed to the proper research tools. Another kind of evaluation research, which seeks to get at repressed attitudes, must be done by the trained research person. Some attitudes are not considered respectable and so tend to be withheld, and some attitudes the respondent himself is not aware of; these can be probed only by the skilled interviewer.

Action people have always seen another major use for research—specific fact gathering. Businesses, unions, government agencies, pressure groups, etc., often have "research departments" whose major functions are to collect information which will make the operation more effective and to prepare annual reports on organizational achievements. Most research scientists refuse to call this kind of work research, and very few trained persons will be found in such departments. Granted that most of the work is picayunish, it need not necessarily be so. There is a dearth of useful scientific knowledge and imagination available to these organizations—not least of all to the ones whose purposes are the general

⁵ Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943), Chaps. I and II.

⁶ For further information on the method, see the following unpublished reports of CCI-AJC: "How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey of Civil Rights" and "Northtown Survey on Human Relations: 1947."

welfare. The action people have seldom become aware of what great value a practical-minded sociologist or psychologist would be to their operations, and the scientists have disdained to soil their hands with such mundane matters. Yet some of the possibilities for significant research in this field are thereby being overlooked. An example from the field of intergroup relations will be given:

One of the two remaining major *legal* barriers to full and equal citizenship for minority groups in the United States is the doctrine of "separate, but equal." This doctrine allows federal, state, and local government to segregate minorities if they pretend that the facilities are equal. Actually the facilities are very seldom equal, and in extremely few cases is there any intention of making them equal. So there is a plethora of court cases, which the minorities practically always win at great cost and great effort, to show in what way the specific facilities are not equal. What is needed is a legal proof that segregation *necessarily and inevitably* implies inequality and discrimination. The task is really one for the empirical social scientist, although only a few lawyers see that. The late Justice Brandeis, before he ascended the bench, was a lawyer who constantly used sociological evidence in court, and thereby achieved his tremendous success and reputation. No other lawyer since Brandeis has had the understanding or ability to follow his example completely. But a sociologist or psychologist, one with imagination, working with a lawyer might together equal a Brandeis.

Most sociologists, and a considerable number of psychologists too, object to several of the points of view expressed in this paper. For good historical reasons there have been advantages in divorcing social science from social action. For these reasons, they fear action research as dangerous to the advancement of their discipline. But many of these reasons no longer hold good, and many of the kinds of research discussed on the preceding pages have value for the advancement of social theory, as well as of social action, if the scientist will but seek to apply action research to problems that have theoretical as well as practical importance. In fact, as the writer has tried to show elsewhere,⁷ the attempt to divorce social research from practical social problems has resulted in sterile production and nonactivity. Nevertheless, many of the kinds of research mentioned thus far are of the sort dictated by the narrow, day-to-day needs of organizations that are primarily interested in action, not knowledge. On them alone no science of sociology or psychology could be built.

⁷ Arnold M. Rose, "The Selection of Problems for Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54:219-27, November 1948.

However, there is one other area where science and action meet that avoids this objection. This is the area of theory: social action needs good theory just as much as does social science. Every action organization has both strategy and tactics. The kinds of research discussed up to this point are aids in tactics—in the immediate techniques of taking specific forward steps toward achieving the goals. Good social theory, on the other hand, is fundamental to sound strategy—to the creation of a long-run plan to achieve reformulated goals in terms of the felt needs of the population. A social theory is obviously called for which can relate organizational goals to the needs of the population. In few fields have sociologists advanced far enough to provide tested theory. Where they have, it has usually been because they were given a practical problem to solve. We note, for example, the relatively advanced condition of theory in the field of criminology, because sociologists have been faced for generations with the practical problem of what causes certain persons to become criminals. Let us take the two fields of intergroup relations and workers' education to see to what stage theory has advanced and what are the present needs:

1. Much of the action intended to alleviate intergroup tension is based on the rationalistic theory current forty years ago in sociology (Shaler, Thomas, etc.) that dislike of differences was the source of intergroup prejudice. The action consists largely of denying false charges (i.e., false accusations of group difference), showing how apparent differences are not really differences, explaining how existing differences developed in a natural and understandable way. There has been a sufficient body of theoretical research to discredit this rationalistic approach, but no social scientist has yet offered a positive substitute to the action people. What relevant theoretical research there has been seems to point to the following suggestion: intergroup hatreds are substitute responses (symbolic adjustments) to frustrating, depriving situations, where a specific group is unconsciously identified in the minds of the haters with the frustrating situation. This theory has not been proved either in its general formulation or in its specific identification of the symbolic meaning of any hated group (although some good suggestive evidence exists⁸). If the theory were to be proved it would lead to such changes in action as the following: (a) encouragement of concrete action—preferably by the haters

⁸ See, for example: John Dollard *et al.*, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), esp. p. 31 ff.; Arnold M. Rose, "Anti-Semitism's Root in City-Hatred," *Commentary*, 6:374-78, October 1948.

themselves—to eliminate the frustrating situation; (b) disassociation of the unconscious mental identification of the hated group from the frustrating situation.

2. One of the basic internal problems of trade unions is that a large portion of their membership has been uprooted by the Industrial Revolution from its integral position in an organized structure, and now does not know how to participate effectively in community organizations, often including the union itself. One of the manifestations of inability to participate is inability to communicate effectively, and workers are unable therefore to see their similarity of interests or to understand the operations of the union leaders. This is essentially the problem of the mass character of modern society, and the attendant psychology of alienation and irresponsibility. Sociologists and psychologists have all but neglected to develop a tenable theory of this situation, although many have recognized it to be of central importance to one aspect of their scientific interests.

It is obvious that some fundamental research has to be done by trained and imaginative sociologists and psychologists before these theoretical (and practical) problems can be solved. Many of the essential facts (for the most part "historical" in nature) for formulating basic theory on these subjects lie around waiting to be integrated into a coherent form. The theory, once formulated, will likely be found to have gaps and will need verification at most points. These are the places where empirical research will be essential. When research has substantiated a large portion of these theories, the latter will be found to form a very central part of general sociological theory. That is natural with action research that has a theoretical bent, since action research is group oriented, rather than individual oriented or culture oriented, and it has the generalizing character imparted to it by its concern for hypothesis and its experimental method. The theory, once developed and substantiated, will also have intense practical value, since it will be the only available guide to action people in intergroup relations and workers' education as to how they can formulate a realistic strategy for reaching their goals.

We see, then, that for some of the action research discussed, the action people have to rely heavily on the research people. Some of the dependence will be permanent and some of it is likely to be temporary, until the action people take over a few basic research attitudes and become acquainted with a few simple research tools. On the other hand, some of the action research will contribute just as heavily to the advancement of

theoretical social science as it will to effective social action. There the scientists have something to gain which the history of our discipline suggests is not likely to be gained except by contact with these realistic social problems. Certainly, there is likely to be mutual gain as research and action find a closer meeting ground.

THE STABILITY OF GREटना GREEN MARRIAGES

WILLIAM M. KEPHART AND ROLF B. STROHM

University of Pennsylvania

The feeling apparently persists in this country that "Gretna Green" marriages result in a disproportionately high rate of marital failure, at least when "failure" is thought of in terms of divorce. It is the purpose of this paper to explore the hypothesis, namely, that those couples married in a marriage-market town ("Gretna Green") show a higher percentage of divorce than those who do not resort to the Gretna Green procedure. In addition, the writers will attempt to point out some of the methodological pitfalls involved in a study based on marriage and divorce data of the kinds that have been utilized.

Nature of the problem. The term Gretna Green is a carry-over from the name of the town in Scotland, just across the border from England. At one time many English couples made the trip to Gretna Green in order to take advantage of the extreme laxity of the Scottish marriage laws. Although the enactment of a residence requirement resulted in a cessation of the marriage trade, the fame of the town continues, and Gretna Green is still used to denote a marriage-market town or "marriage mill."

At one time or another dozens of Gretna Greens have flourished in the United States. Elkton, Maryland, and Kahoka, Missouri, have received nation-wide publicity and at one time were virtual bywords for the "quick" marriage. Despite their relatively small size, each of these towns was formerly issuing thousands of marriage licenses a year. Although recent state laws have curtailed the commercialized matrimonial activities of Elkton and Kahoka, other Gretna Greens continue to thrive, and in all likelihood the custom will persist. The reason for its continued existence constitutes an interesting sociolegal phenomenon, and before presenting our own findings it is necessary to examine some of the motivational possibilities of the couples involved.

There are a number of reasons why couples patronize Gretna Greens, all of them in the form of inducements. The legal age-at-marriage requirement may be lower in the Gretna Green than in the home state, thus providing underage couples with a legal sanction for their desired marriage. (Unlike certain aspects of our divorce laws, marriage laws in the United States stipulate that a marriage which is legal where per-

formed must be recognized as legal in any of the states.) Other Gretna Green incentives include the absence of the blood-test requirement and the nonexistence of a waiting period.

Still another Gretna Green inducement lies in the fact that oftentimes licenses are issued and marriage ceremonies are performed at any hour of the day or night, which procedure is impossible under most county jurisdictions. In Elkton, for example, "marrying parsons" were on call twenty-four hours a day. Large signs advertised the fact. Taxi drivers, jewelers, florists, and restaurants cooperated in the marriage business to the point where the would-be couple could "hit all the spots" and be back at the Elkton train station in an hour or two.

It was apparently this well-advertised convenience, and not the absence of the blood-test or waiting-period requirements, that served, for example, to attract large numbers of Philadelphia couples. While it was true that Philadelphia couples going to Elkton were not confronted (under the Maryland law) with the waiting-period and blood-test requirements, these factors, by themselves, could hardly have been the major inducements, inasmuch as neither the blood test nor waiting period was a requisite in Pennsylvania.¹ The Elkton marriage trade, moreover, continued to thrive even after the enactment, in 1937, of a two-day waiting period. The death knell for the Elkton trade did not sound until recently when state laws were passed *forbidding the solicitation* of wedding business. Thus, at the present time, while the legal age for marriage for the girl (without parental consent) is still lower in Maryland—eighteen years as compared with twenty-one in Pennsylvania—and despite the absence of the blood-test requirement, the percentage of Philadelphia couples going to Elkton for their marriages is comparatively small.²

The motivating factors given above have been discussed somewhat in detail, since it is our present purpose to compare the incidence of divorce between Gretna Green and non-Gretna Green marriages; hence the impelling reasons for the former-type marriages should be kept in mind.

¹ In Pennsylvania the three-day waiting period did not become law until the Act of May 7, 1935, and the blood-test requirement did not become effective until May 17, 1940.

² In passing, it should be noted that perhaps a final Gretna Green incentive would concern the avoidance of publicity for those couples who desired to keep their marriage temporarily secret. In the present context, however, this inducement probably would not be applicable, since the Gretna Green marriages covered in our study are reported in the Philadelphia papers along with those marriages the licenses for which have been issued by the Philadelphia Marriage License Bureau.

Methodology. The divorce data for the present paper were gathered under the auspices of the Philadelphia Bar Association Committee on Marriage and Divorce Laws and Family Court, and represent part of a much larger study on marriage, divorce, and desertion. For purposes of analysis a random sample of 1,434 divorce cases was selected, covering the years 1937-50. This figure represents an approximate 4 per cent sample of all the divorces granted in Philadelphia County for the years mentioned, the latter number being in the neighborhood of 38,000 cases. While a larger sample would have been desirable, the nature of the county divorce records precluded this possibility. At the county level the only divorce data available are those which are contained in or attached to the legal testimony of the divorce suit itself. For research purposes this means, in some instances, leafing through hundreds of pages of testimony to gather the necessary statistical information for a single case. In any event, the 4 per cent sample involved many months of painstakingly unrolling thick wads of testimony in order to compile the material that was being sought.

The marriage data for the present study were derived from the marriage lists published in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*. Since the median duration of marriage for our divorce sample was approximately ten years and since our divorce sample covered the years 1937-50, it was necessary to analyze the Philadelphia marriage lists for the period 1927-40. It was felt that at least a 5 per cent sample was necessary; however, certain precautions were needed in the selection of the sample, inasmuch as all months are not equally represented in terms of marriage frequency. (May and June, for example, show a disproportionately high number of marriages.) The method decided upon was to include two days from each of the twelve months of each of the fourteen years in the sample. Within these categories there remained the need of making the selection of the particular days on a completely random basis. This was done by making use of a table of random numbers. In its final form the sample represents somewhat over 6 per cent of the total number of marriages listed in the *Bulletin* for the period mentioned.

What we were trying to establish, of course, by the foregoing sampling procedure, was the percentage of Philadelphia couples (couples in which the bride's address was listed as being within the city limits) whose marriage took place in a Gretna Green. There are several of the latter, however, adjacent or near Philadelphia, and not all of them forward marriage lists to the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*. Fortunately for our purposes, the two principal Gretna Greens do forward marriage lists.

These two are Elkton, Maryland, and Media, Pennsylvania, and our percentages of Gretna Green marriages were based on these two sources.³

Findings. Of the 10,563 marriages in our sample (bride a resident of Philadelphia) 1,726, or 16.4 per cent, were Gretna Green marriages (Elkton or Media). Of the 1,434 divorces in our sample 306, or 21.3 per cent, involved cases where the couple had married in these same Gretna Greens. Thus there appears to be a positive association between Gretna Green marriages and divorce, although the interrelation is not so marked as popular opinion would seem to indicate.

Whether the above results are statistically significant can be determined by means of the null hypothesis; that is, we assume a condition of no actual difference between the rates and test the statistical significance of the actual observed difference. Methodologically, this entails the standard error of the difference between two sample statistics. Substituting the respective values in the applicable formula for the case of attributes in two samples of different size, the result shows the standard error of the difference to be 1.4 percentage points.

The actual observed difference is 4.9 per cent and represents more than three standard errors of the difference for samples of the size employed. In terms of probabilities this means that if there were no actual difference in the characteristics of the two populations sampled, in less than once out of a hundred times a difference in the figures as large as the observed difference would occur because of chance variations due to the employment of random sampling methods.

Considerations. While the difference in divorce frequencies between Gretna Green and non-Gretna Green marriages does not appear to be large (although statistically significant), certain considerations suggest that the difference is actually greater than that indicated by the figures.

³ Media is the seat of Delaware County, a county adjacent to Philadelphia, and while all Pennsylvania counties must abide by the general marriage laws of the state, some leeway is permissible on points of interpretation; in fact, the application of the state marriage laws is determined by the Judge of the Orphans' Court in the various counties. Delaware County, in this respect, is relatively lenient with regard to the procedural aspects of marriage. For practical purposes, of course, this means that for couples contemplating marriage, Delaware County offers certain inducements which are not found in Philadelphia County. In the former county, for example, applicants are not questioned too closely regarding their previous marital status. Furthermore, Delaware County permits all of its justices of the peace to issue marriage licenses, whereas there is but one place of issuance in Philadelphia—City Hall. Also the marriage business is well advertised in Delaware County ("Your Wedding Recorded on Phonograph Disc"), and some justices of the peace will obligingly perform the ceremony at night and on Sundays or holidays. One very well known justice of the peace is conveniently located a few hundred feet from the Philadelphia county line.

In the first place, it is possible that Negroes tend to utilize the Gretna Green procedure relatively less frequently than do the whites. Whether this differential existed for our sample was impossible to determine, since the marriage lists did not differentiate couples by race. In the divorce survey, Negroes comprised 11.2 per cent of our sample, but only 6.7 per cent of the Gretna Green group, although what this difference indicates is not clear. It is also possible that lower socioeconomic classes tend to patronize Gretna Greens relatively more often than do the upper classes. Although the marriage lists used in our study provided no occupational information, an occupational analysis of our divorce sample revealed that the upper levels (professional-proprietary) were clearly underrepresented in the Gretna Green group and the semiskilled workers noticeably overrepresented. Again, however, the meaning of a divorce differential of this kind is not clear in the absence of a comparable marriage differential.

After talking with several people who are familiar with the local situation—including justices of the peace and court clerks—the writers had the general impression that Negroes and upper socioeconomic classes are underrepresented in Gretna Green marriages. If our impression is correct in this respect, it would mean that the chance of a Gretna Green marriage ending in divorce would be somewhat higher than our previously listed figures would indicate, since the denominator of the fraction of our divorce sample involving Gretna Green marriages would be relatively smaller.

Limitations. The writers are aware of the many flaws in the present study, and before drawing any conclusions regarding the stability of Gretna Green marriages the reader should assess the seriousness of these defects.

To begin with, although our divorce sample contained a significantly higher percentage of Gretna Green marriages than our marriage sample, nothing is known about the percentage of the latter which ended in desertion. Whether a sample of desertion cases would reveal a disproportionately high incidence of Gretna Green marriages can only be conjectured. This matter is of extreme importance locally because of the high rate of desertion. The writers, for example, have compiled figures for Philadelphia which show that from 1920 through 1949 there have been 119,060 reported desertions as against 65,714 divorces. In only four of these thirty years in Philadelphia has the number of divorces exceeded the number of desertions.

Another weakness in our study inheres in the type of data utilized. The marriage lists comprise marriage licenses only and not completed marriages. It is known that a certain percentage of applicants do not go through with the contemplated marriage; and, although this figure is small, it is not known, in terms of our present study, whether any systematic error was thus introduced. Also while our divorce records include only completed divorce actions, it is to be expected that a certain percentage of Philadelphia couples procured their divorces in other areas; hence we would have no record of these cases. While the percentage of such cases is probably not large, the possibility of a systematic error again arises.

Finally, and perhaps most important, it was not possible in our present study to control certain important variables. Occupation and race have already been mentioned. In addition, such factors as education, number of times married, age at marriage, nationality, and religion might well bear on the phenomenon being studied. Age at marriage, in particular, should be mentioned in this respect. It is almost certain that couples resorting to Gretna Green marriages have a lower average age at marriage than non-Gretna Green couples. An age differential of this kind appeared in our divorce sample. If the age factor were held constant, the significance of the Gretna Green marriage procedure would doubtless come into clearer focus.

In view of the above-mentioned limitations, the findings reported herein are at best suggestive. The final answer will have to await a more extensive survey wherein the marriage data are derived from sources other than newspaper lists. A satisfactory survey, in addition, would aim at covering a geographical area much wider than that included in the present county-type survey.

Summary. Utilizing a marriage sample derived from newspaper marriage lists and a divorce sample derived from court records, it was found that Gretna Green marriages were positively associated with divorce. By use of the null hypothesis the results were found to be statistically significant. It was suggested that had corrections been made for race and occupation the difference between our two sample statistics might have been larger than the observed difference. The percentage of Gretna Green marriages which ended in desertion, however, was not ascertainable. Finally, the caution is given that several limitations in the present study were inherent by the very nature of the type of data employed.

THE NEW URBAN FRINGE

NOEL P. GIST

University of Missouri

When Adna F. Weber published his important treatise in 1899 on the growth of American and European cities in the nineteenth century, he observed that one of the significant trends was the centrifugal movement of the urban population into adjacent suburban areas. That movement, which had its beginnings in the latter half of the nineteenth century, has continued unabated. Suburbia today, as everyone recognizes, is an important part of the American urban scene.

Throughout most of this period the march to the suburbs stopped at or near the city boundaries. Thus located, suburbanites were within easy travel distance of the central business district and near enough to the city's public utilities for convenience.

In recent years, particularly since the war, population has pushed farther out than ever before. This new movement has not so much replaced the suburban trend as it has, in effect, been an extension of it. Each year an increasing number of urban-employed families forsake the city to take up residence in the open country, often as far as twenty or thirty miles from the work site. The increasing number of new homes built or under construction in the countryside around our cities is evidence of the magnitude of the trend.

Without certain technological developments this decentralization of population could not, or at least would not, have occurred. The most obvious of these developments are the automobile and the surfaced highway. Others that have undoubtedly figured prominently in the trend are the septic tank, rural electrification, and bottled fuel gas, all of which have made possible modern household facilities and have freed the rural family from its dependence on urban utility systems.

In addition to technological changes, certain social and economic factors have operated to make homes in the country possible. Those who have shared well in the prosperity of the past decade—notably businessmen and independent professionals—have been in a position to invest their added earnings in attractive and often luxurious country homes. Many have done so.

White-collar and working-class families have also abandoned the city for the open country, but probably for different reasons. Caught in the inflationary spiral of rising living costs and beset with urban housing

difficulties, many have sought to supplement their incomes by part-time farming or by the production of fruit, vegetables, and animal products on small plots of land.

Aside from economic motives, many have left the city because the open country represents, to them, an idealized way of life. "We just like to live in the country," said one housewife when queried about the reasons for leaving the city; and said another, "We think the country is a better place than the city to raise a family." No doubt a great many city persons who were reared on farms have idealized their childhood experiences in a nostalgic way and have attempted to relive those experiences or provide a comparable mode of life for their children. How many cherish these ideals but never translate them into reality we shall never know, but the number must be very large.

Whether the economic gains from open-country residence are real or illusory depends upon a number of factors. To be weighed against the supplementary incomes derived from various forms of agriculture are added costs of transportation and certain types of urban services. If the commuter drives his own car, the outlay of money for gasoline, tires, and repairs is no small item in the family budget; and if the family is in the two-car class, the budgetary allowances for travel are even greater. Unless a man can be his own plumber or electrician, the services of a skilled worker imported from the city may be very expensive. In the event of family illness he can look forward to medical bills that far exceed the normal charges for services within the city. If his home is modernized, the costs of additional equipment as well as the expenditures for fuel may be higher than corresponding costs for urban homes. Furthermore, the hidden costs involved in time spent on the highways and in the physical strain or hazards of travel may not appear on the financial balance sheet but are nevertheless very real.

A detailed picture of urban decentralization to the open country is not presently available. We simply do not know if the movement is more characteristic of small cities than of large ones, nor do we know if the centrifugal shift of population is essentially peculiar to cities having certain types of economic and institutional structures. There is likewise limited information about the people themselves: their city occupations, the adjustments they have made to open-country living, their social relationships in the city and in the rural neighborhoods.

A study recently completed at the University of Missouri, financed in part by the Social Science Research Council, does, however, throw some light on the problem and provides the basis for certain tentative generali-

zations. In this study, 460 urban-occupied families residing in the open country near a medium-sized Midwestern city were interviewed. About one half of these families had moved to their present locations from the city of employment and therefore were representative of urban decentralization.

In spite of the inconveniences and additional costs associated with open-country living, the families in the Midwestern study were overwhelmingly favorable to this arrangement. Over four fifths of the adults were either "highly satisfied" or "reasonably satisfied" with rural life, though readily admitting that serious difficulties were often confronted, especially in matters of transportation. Women were slightly less favorable than their husbands, however, and the older children less favorable than their parents. One parent, an enthusiast for country living, said that his family expected to return to the city because the daughter, a teen-age girl, was seriously handicapped in her dating relationships with boys who did not own, or have use of, an automobile. His choice was either to move back to the city or serve as chauffeur to his daughter and her boy friend—not a very satisfactory arrangement for any of them. In the end he capitulated.

The distribution of the urban-occupied families in the open-country hinterland is closely associated with linear distance as translated into the time-cost-convenience trilogy. In general, the families are apparently heavily concentrated within a fairly short radius of the city and thin out as distance from the center of employment increases. This distributive pattern is by no means uniform, however, because families tend to cluster along or near the radial highways that afford comparatively easy access to the city.

There is still another set of factors associated with residential location, namely, income and occupation. The Midwestern study showed that professional, managerial, and clerical families were heavily concentrated within the five-mile zone, but that working-class employees tended to move farther out. No doubt this pattern reflects in part the motives for moving to the country. Inasmuch as the higher income families are apparently motivated by noneconomic considerations in their shift from city to country, it is reasonable to suppose that time, cost, and inconvenience would be reduced to a minimum by locating within a short distance of the urban base, often on choice, though expensive, residential sites.

On the other hand, working-class families, often interested in supplementing their incomes by some form of agriculture, may find it necessary to locate at more distant points in order to find cultivable land. Many

of them are on acreages suitable for large-scale agriculture. Hence, incomes from farming operations may more than offset the expenditures involved in commuting longer distances.

One of the interesting things revealed by the study was the close associational ties maintained by the decentralized families with city groups and institutions. Whether judged by membership and participation in organized city groups, in informal social activities, or in visiting relationships, the decentralized families were more closely associated with the city than were the urban-occupied rural families that had moved to the area from other localities. Using the same criteria, the decentralized families were more strongly oriented to the city than to the rural neighborhoods.

To the extent that these observations can be made the basis of generalizations, one may infer that the traditional rural-urban category is no longer valid except in a narrow spatial sense. City people who move to the open country apparently continue to maintain their institutional and personal connections, participating in the social life of the community much as they did when they were actual urban residents, although possibly on a smaller scale due to the distance factor. At the same time, their location in the country either necessitates or encourages a certain amount of social participation in rural neighborhood life.

The number of urban-occupied rural residents over the country has become so large that cities are dependent, to a considerable degree, on their support of local institutions. Not only are these families integrated into the economic life of the community through their occupational roles, but they also participate in a wide range of social organizations characteristic of every urban community. They worship in the city's churches, attend city schools, go to city movies, join city lodges and labor unions, attend sports events in the city, and play bridge with their city friends. That cities have often recognized this dependence is indicated by the efforts frequently made to encourage even further integration into the organized life of the community. Local businessmen and chambers of commerce certainly do not overlook their open-country neighbors as potential customers. It would be a dark day indeed if this source of income were cut off.

This movement to the hinterland, whether to the adjacent suburbs or to the open country, has created some problems for which the cities have found no workable solution. Families moving from the city are automatically removed from the municipal tax rolls, unless, perchance, they leave some taxable property behind. Yet they continue to enjoy the city's

facilities without paying their proportionate share of the costs. They use the city's streets, patronize public institutions, receive protection from the local police force, and benefit in various ways by the public utilities, all of which are maintained at great expense. In these days of expanding municipal services and rising costs of government, the loss of revenue is a serious threat to the efficient operation of our municipalities. It is problematical, however, whether such proposals as a municipal occupational tax designed to catch suburbanites and rural residents employed in the city would be workable.

Short of the occurrence of some radical change in our economy, it seems likely that the movement to the open country will continue. Indeed, certain contingencies like atomic warfare, or even the serious threat of bombing attacks, might accelerate the trend away from the cities. The disturbed international situation has already created anxieties among people in vulnerable metropolitan centers, and it is possible that many of them will try to save their skins by moving to the wide open spaces. So far, however, there is little evidence that the open-country movement has been greatly influenced by the philosophy of escapism. In our own study centering on a medium-sized city and its environs, not a single person even hinted that escape from possible bombing was a consideration in the decision to move to the country.

It is more likely that actual warfare, or the imposition of economic controls occasioned by the threat of war, would have the effect of decelerating the open-country movement. Shortages of gasoline, tires, and even automobiles, or controls applied because of these shortages, would probably increase the difficulties of transportation and discourage city persons from moving away from the work site. Just as the open-country movement during World War II was practically stopped, so would it also probably cease in the event of another war—unless the exigencies of the situation made it necessary to evacuate people for the protection of life and limb. But this would be a movement of an order different from that which has been recently occurring.

Sharp changes in the economy, such as a depression or a runaway inflation, always have the effect of dislodging families from their jobs and community moorings. During the depression of the 1930's there was a vast population shift from the cities to villages and farms. Should another comparable depression occur it is possible that the movement to the open country would be stepped up as city families sought the security of a little plot of land. A sharp inflationary trend even might have the same apparent effect. Even with the present inflation, mild compared

15 cities
use it
already

with what might conceivably occur, many persons have attempted to protect their savings by translating collateral holdings into farms and smaller tracts of suburban property.

No one can predict the magnitude of this movement to the open country because it is so closely associated with a complex set of factors which themselves are unpredictable. Offsetting it is a countermovement to the cities from their hinterlands, a movement which has, up to the present, probably more than balanced the outflow of population to the open country. Nevertheless, the volume of the movement in recent years is such as to have profound implications for the cities as well as for the adjacent countryside; and in planning for residential, industrial, commercial, educational, and recreational developments its import should not be ignored.

LABOR UNDER REVIEW: 1951

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As the United States economy moved into the second half of the twentieth century, a disquieting anxiety lurked in the shadows of the path leading to the future. For youth, many signs pointed to areas filled with the debris of confusion. For those who could remember back to 1938, the signposts might have been labeled: "Here's where we came in." The rumblings from the arsenals of defense were grim reminders of a nation girding itself for war. The year had hardly begun when John Foster Dulles informed citizens that the Russians had control of a periphery some twenty thousand miles long and that Russia might choose war at any moment. If so, no other course than counterattack could be followed. Senator Taft claimed that Washington, fearful of more Korean affairs, sought now to reassure, now to panic, citizens with its foreign policy. Secretary of State Acheson admitted that danger threatened, but that it would have to be met by building up bulwarks of strength in strategic places. Plainly, the task set for the United States was one of first answering the most puzzling of all questions: "How best to rid the nation of Communist intentions to enslave it and the world to boot?"

The Administration—beset by the sinister, shadowy, and stretching arms of the Kremlin—insisted that the answer might only be found in helping to arm and feed the remaining free peoples of the world. More hard work, more production, more taxes coupled with less civilian consumption were sought. Expenses for defense grew into astronomical figures, the cost of living hit an all-time high, and the number of alphabetical agencies increased by leaps and bounds. Wage and price controls were announced as the Council of Economic Advisers proposed that freezing of wages with progressively higher taxes would aid the economy. No real freezing of profits was suggested. To all this military feverishness, organized labor responded with a voice demanding to be included in the councils of the policy makers. Once again it saw an opportunity to make material progress for itself during a crisis period, and how well it succeeded may be judged from the events cited in succeeding paragraphs. Its progress in the matter of obtaining escalator clauses based upon rising living costs and fringe benefits in the form of pensions and the like have been envied by the lowly white collar and some professional

classes who found their ability to buy steadily decreasing, their standard of living depressed, and their taxes levied at higher rates—all without benefit of organization and escalator clauses.

The benefits of solidarity have been well illustrated in the period. When Albert J. Jones, president of the AFL's International Association of Machinists was appointed in January as special assistant on manpower problems in the Department of Defense, organized labor was able to have itself represented in the military arrangements of the nation for the first time in its history. It was able to melt the freezing-of-wages policy of the Economic Stabilization Agency and to force the President to establish a National Advisory Board on Mobilization with equal representation for labor with management and agriculture.

The following events have been selected because of their significance in indicating trends. The information given has been noted in press dispatches, newsweeklies, telecommunications materials, CIO and AFL research documents and pamphlets, and the Department of Labor's *Monthly Labor Review*.

JANUARY 1951

President Truman submits report of Council of Economic Advisers to Congress in accord with the requirements of the Employment Act of 1946. Report proposes freezing of wages and prices with progressively higher taxes.

After the big production expansion of 1950, the greatest problem to be faced in 1951 was still how to get even bigger production to enable the nation to defend the free peoples. The burden was placed upon the shoulders of the Defense Production Administration composed of the following: Charles E. Wilson, Director of Office of Defense Mobilization; Alan Valentine, Economic Stabilizer; Mike V. Di Salle, Price Stabilizer; William H. Harrison, Defense Production; Manly Fleishmann, National Production Authority; Cyrus S. Ching, Head, Wage Stabilization Board. When Alan Valentine resigned as Economic Stabilizer in January, Eric Johnston replaced him.

John L. Lewis opposes both price and wage controls and declares that production can be increased without government harassment. Economic Stabilization Agency issued Wage Stabilization Regulation I freezing prices at highest level between December 19, 1950, and January 25, 1951. Wages supposed to be frozen at rates prevailing on January 25, but Lewis and the soft-coal operators signed a new contract giving a 20-cent-an-hour boost, or about \$16.35 a day, to the miners. Anthracite miners' contract at the same rates followed shortly.

Food prices at an all-time high and scare buying starts throughout the nation as announcements are made that materials for civilian goods are to be cut back at least from 15 to 20 per cent.

Three railroad brotherhoods reject a proposed offer of a contract arrived at under government supervision. Switchmen of several big railroads fail to report for work. Truman approves an amendment to the Railway Labor Act allowing union shop and check-off of union dues for railway express, bus companies, and air carriers employees. CIO forms a new railroad union, the United Railroad Employees of America for nonoperating employees.

NLRB decisions: employees cannot be discharged because of attempts to form unions; employers may read to assembled employees questions they might ask themselves before deciding on joining a union—NLRB called this "protected free speech"; the feather-bedding ban of the LMRA does not prohibit union from seeking actual employment for members, even though the employer may not want them.

Six hundred thousand International Association of Machinists re-affiliate with AFL after a five-year absence.

AFL's Albert Hayes appointed Special Assistant on Manpower Problems in Department of Defense, marking first time that organized labor has been represented in military arrangements.

FEBRUARY 1951

The "big freeze" of wages begins to thaw as the Wage Stabilization Board approves all pay raises made on or before January 25. Board also approved a wage formula permitting a 10 per cent raise to all workers who had not received a raise since January 1950. Labor members of CIO and AFL walk out of Economic Stabilization headquarters and upset the mobilization plan. Also irritated because of wage controls and Truman's attack on railroad brotherhoods, they claimed that big business was in "the saddle" so far as the program went. Strike tie-up on railroads caused Truman to order the army to take over. Meanwhile the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen fined \$75,000 for paralyzing the railroads in defiance of a Federal injunction which was made permanent. (Government had been operating railroads since August 1950.)

Director of Office of Defense Mobilization appoints Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, President of Ohio Wesleyan University, as assistant in charge of manpower problems and a Manpower Policy Committee is formed with Flemming as chairman. Power thus taken from Secretary of Labor Tobin. United Labor Policy Committee (CIO and AFL) writes a disapproving letter to C. E. Wilson about this move.

U.S. Supreme Court rules that the Wisconsin Public Utility Anti-strike Law, which banned strikes and substituted compulsory arbitration of labor disputes in public utilities is invalid. Also rules that the Administrative Procedure Act and the LMRA give courts broad powers over NLRB decisions.

CIO plans a drive to unionize one-and-a-half million department store workers.

Department of Labor establishes Division of Industrial Services in Bureau of Employment Security to oversee the utilization of defense and essential civilian manpower.

MARCH 1951

United Labor Policy Committee on warpath against Wilson for "arrogant seizure" of manpower problems. Eric Johnston promises to re-examine the whole wage problem. Bureau of Labor Statistics announces a 1.5 per cent hike in cost of living, and 2,700,000 workers guarded by escalator clauses prepare to get raises up to 5 cents an hour. Army gives a million railroad workers a 12½-cent-an-hour increase retroactive to February 1. Workers had asked for 25 cents an hour.

Profits of General Motors in 1950 announced: \$834 million, highest profit ever made by any corporation in the world. Economic Stabilization Agency refuses to approve increase for meatpackers, who start wearing badges with "No raise, no work" on them and get set to strike on March 26.

Truman establishes a National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy with the Director of Defense Mobilization as chairman. New board to be composed of sixteen members representing business, management, labor, and agriculture. United Labor Policy Committee announces its willingness now to assist in the mobilization program.

Former Senator Frank P. Graham named as Defense Manpower Administrator by Secretary of Labor Tobin to supervise and coordinate all defense manpower activities within the Department.

Strike averted in meatpacking industry when unions agreed to extend existing wage agreement to May 7 and to give the dispute to a tripartite wage stabilization board.

Former Congresswoman Mary T. Norton of New Jersey appointed as special womanpower consultant to the Secretary of Labor.

APRIL 1951

U.S. Supreme Court sets limits on type of question an employer may ask his employees about their union activities in preparation of a case going before the NLRB.

Army announces that a 6-cent-an-hour increase granted to non-operating railroad workers was in excess of permitted payments under existing regulation of Wage Stabilization Board, but the Board later approves the 6-cent escalator agreement.

NLRB rules that a union may request employers' customers to bring pressure upon employers for aid in unionization—calls this "protected concerted activity."

Truman sets up a new super-Wage Stabilization Board of eighteen members and gives it sweeping authority in labor-management disputes affecting mobilization program. Accepts resignation of Cyrus S. Ching as board chairman and appoints George W. Taylor, one-time head of old War Labor Board, in his place.

United Automobile Workers (CIO) elect Walter Reuther for the fourth time as president.

MAY 1951

Director of Office of Defense Mobilization establishes a Labor-Management Manpower Policy Commission with Flemming of the ODM and Graham of the Department of Labor as cochairmen.

The twenty-six-month-old dispute between Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the railroads settled with hourly increases of 33 cents for yardmen and 18.5 cents for roadmen.

George Harrison, President of Railway Clerks' Brotherhood, made assistant to C. E. Wilson.

Buying power of the 1935-39 dollar placed at 54 cents; in terms of the 1914 dollar, 39 cents. Cost of living at a new high—index 185.4, food costs having risen 12 per cent since the war in Korea.

Rumored feud between Charles E. Wilson and Eric Johnston said to be over Wilson's resistance to labor's drive for full mobilization representation.

Packinghouse workers granted a 9-cent-an-hour raise by the WSB, boost giving them a 14 per cent raise since January 1950.

A million auto workers to get wage boost of 3 cents an hour in June via escalator clause, the consumer index having risen 1.7 per cent since January 15. General Motors reports biggest first-quarter sales in its history: \$1,959,879,617. Taxes, however, dropped net income about one third.

JUNE 1951

Tenth anniversary of signing of contract between Local 600 of UAW and Ford Motor Company celebrated with John L. Lewis as speaker. Reuther absented himself. Lewis told union members that their leaders were intellectual dreamers.

Thirty-fourth International Labor Office Conference opens at Geneva.

Three CIO maritime unions go on strike for ten days and win 8 per cent wage boost, subject to approval of Wage Stabilization Board.

United Labor Policy Committee meets in Washington to demand a better Defense Production Act. Confers with Truman. Congress extends the Act for thirty-one days and Truman signs.

First strike in twenty-five years by the ILGWU in the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania areas. Lasted only two days, but employers agreed to uniform system of wages, hours, and productive methods.

In first ruling of its kind, NLRB orders disestablishment of a local union affiliated with a national federation, on the grounds that the union was company dominated.

JULY 1951

Manly Fleischmann, Administrator of National Production Authority, becomes a chief assistant for C. E. Wilson as boss of the Defense Production Administration. Truman approves the extension of the Defense Production Act with amendments to June 30, 1952, and states it to be the "worst bill" he ever had to sign.

Secretary of Labor Tobin urges the unionization of 13 million white-collar workers.

Cash dividend payments of U.S. Corporations for the first five months of 1951 swell to a record of 2.5 billions, 11 per cent higher than in 1950.

Employment figures placed at 62,526,000, unemployment at 1,856,000.

NLRB rules that a company may discharge employees who criticize the company's products. Also rules a union security contract invalid if it requires payment of assessments as well as dues and initiation fees as a condition of employment.

AUGUST 1951

Wage Stabilization Board forsakes its 10 per cent formula for wage increases. Votes to permit workers without escalator clauses to bargain for them in new contracts.

Fifty-eight thousand members of International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in fifty mines and mills go on strike, and Truman invokes the Taft-Hartley Act for first time since the Korean affair. The Kennecott Copper Corporation makes a separate peace, granting wage increases and contributory pensions. Wage Stabilization Board refuses to hear dispute until men return to work.

Truman appoints Nathan P. Feinsinger to succeed George W. Taylor as chairman of the WSB.

SEPTEMBER 1951

Court order granted Truman in copper strike, and men begin to return to work pending settlement by a Presidential Inquiry Board.

Eric Johnston announces he will soon resign as Economic Stabilizer.

AFL's 70th annual meeting held in San Francisco. AFL terminates its alliance with United Labor Policy Committee. Membership at 9 million.

Federal Trade Commission lists ten biggest manufacturing concerns on basis of assets: Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Motors, U.S. Steel, Standard Oil of Indiana, Socony Vacuum head the list. U.S. Steel celebrates its 50th anniversary, claiming that it makes 32 per cent of nation's steel, more than Russia, Britain, and Western Germany put together.

OCTOBER 1951

Truman signs a revision of the Taft-Hartley Act to permit union-shop contracts without an NLRB supervised election. Approves an amendment to the Railway Labor Retirement Act giving new and increased benefits for husbands or wives of retired workers.

General Electric, facing a strike, signs a new contract with CIO's International Electrical Workers, granting 2.5 per cent wage increases retroactive to September 15 and including escalator clauses.

Wage Stabilization Board agrees to assume jurisdiction over disputes voluntarily submitted.

General Motors announces third-quarter earnings down due to lower sales, higher taxes, and costs plus lower margins on defense work.

NOVEMBER 1951

U.S. Supreme Court refuses to review the case of NLRB vs. Illinois Bell Telephone Company in which a lower court had held that employees who refused to cross another union's picket line were not engaged in any concerted activity. NLRB rules that an employer violated the LMRA because he refused to give usual stock bonus awarded to 25-year employees who had gone out on strike and had broken their employment period.

Eric Johnston resigns and is succeeded by Roger L. Putnam, former mayor of Springfield, Massachusetts, as Economic Stabilizer.

Truman averts a walkout on four railroads by setting up an emergency board to investigate.

Wildcat strike of longshoremen in New York ended after 25 days, during which over a million dollars' worth of cargo was held on ships and docks.

Thirteenth annual CIO convention held in New York. Philip Murray elected for the twelfth term. Murray declared war on the stabilization program and claimed that wages cannot be frozen without controlling profits and freezing prices.

United Automobile Workers get another cent-an-hour escalator raise since the consumer index rose to 187.8 in October.

DECEMBER 1951

Truman issues an order to government contractors not to disregard FEPC rules.

Meeting of 2,854 delegates at the twenty-third annual convention of the Consumers Cooperative Association in Kansas City. They are told by their president, Howard A. Cowden, that the CCA will soon build a \$16 million nitrogen plant and a million dollars' worth of lumber kilns in Oregon.

Eighteenth annual Conference on Wage Legislation held in Washington on December 4.

Sixty-fifth annual convention of National Association of Manufacturers held in New York; elects as its new president William J. Grede, head of Milwaukee's Grede Foundries. Grede has won many battles over union organizers by wage boosts, pensions, and vacations for his employees.

Murray's steelworkers want more pay plus fringe benefits and ask also for three years' service annual earnings to be equal to 32 hours for 52 weeks. Strike threatened for December 31. Steel's Fairless makes no offer, and Federal Mediator Ching hands the dispute to Truman, who sends the whole matter to the Wage Stabilization Board as a national emergency dispute. Truman confers with Murray and strike is temporarily off.

NLRB rules that Christmas bonuses are subject to collective bargaining as it orders the Niles-Bement-Pond Company to bonus-bargain with CIO's UAW. Board held the bonus was not a gift but an integral part of the company's wage structure.

The end of the year saw the nation's steel industry pour out its one-hundred millionth ton of steel for the first time in one working year. The nation, increasingly alarmed by Communist moves in Europe and Asia, hoped that it would increase this record by at least eighteen million more tons at the end of 1952. It would be needed. The truce negotiations at Panmunjom were plodding wearily on, and rumors were rife that the free European nations were apathetic in cooperating for their own defense. Wisconsin's Senator McCarthy continued to charge that

Communists were still at work in some governmental offices. Charges of corruption were hurled against the Administration, and the military forces were accused of spending so much recklessly that it was costing every man, woman, and child in the United States \$480 a year for defense, or a total for all of 74 billions a year.

To many it seemed that the general public had never been so "exquisitely befuddled." How much longer could the United States continue to spend at such a dizzy rate? The spending spree, according to critics of the Administration, was causing more and more inflation. As prices increased, workers saw their real wages diminishing; hence the agitation for the protective escalator clause. Organized labor grew more attractive and swelled its membership rolls. It demanded more protection in the form not only of higher wages but of guaranteed annual wages, the union shop, and fringe benefits including better health, welfare, and pension systems. Among those benefiting were the steelworkers, railroad workers, maritime workers, meatpackers, communications workers, and electrical workers. In many cases affecting these, special emergency boards had to be created to hear and settle the disputes. The Wage Stabilization Board, established to hear those disputes affecting the national defense program, was found to be not entirely deaf to the workers and it even agreed to hear some cases voluntarily submitted to it if assured that its recommendations would be heeded. Civilian production slowed down somewhat—enough to lessen employment, there being about 17 per cent more unemployment registered between March and October. At year's end, despite the charge that the Administration was taking the nation down the road to socialism, the stock market was still in business, the big corporations were making profits despite higher taxes, collective bargainers were at the conference tables, and shining new automobiles seemed more plentiful on the streets than ever before.

FAMILISM AND ATTITUDE TOWARD DIVORCE

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Introduction. In a familistic society the roles and relationships of the members within the family group are clearly defined. When such roles and relationships are clearly defined, behavior patterns for family members provide security and guidance for the individual. In such a society the stability of the family and, consequently, the likelihood of its success as an enduring unit are enhanced. At the cultural level, these values are manifest in the folkways, mores, and legal code of the society. At the individual level, they are evident in the attitudes and beliefs of the members of the group. Emphasis upon the family unit rather than upon the individual in a familistic society has been observed by Faris, who notes that:

In a family having a strong and dominant tradition, major decisions may be taken with reference more to the continuity interest than to the happiness of the persons involved. In such cases a family member does not merely have his own life to lead, but must also bear in mind that he is a trustee for past and future members of his family line.¹

In the United States a familistic orientation is still evident in the divorce laws of the several states—all of which recognize the emphasis upon the family unit rather than upon the individual. Even in those states with the most "liberal" divorce laws, legal separation is not granted unless the contesting parties give socially acceptable justification for the separation. The mutually expressed desire for legal separation is, in itself, not considered adequate justification for divorce.

Society then, in its laws (and mores), attempts to maintain stable family units by maintaining a familistic orientation toward the family unit. It does appear likely in a society where the dissolution of a marriage is not approved, or approved only under carefully prescribed and limited conditions, that the married couple are more likely to take particular pains to "make a go" of the marriage. Both society and students of society take the view that there will be more stable (but of course not necessarily "happy") units under this familistic orientation. A recent

¹ Robert E. L. Faris, "Interaction of Generations and Family Stability," *American Sociological Review*, April 1947.

poll by the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory made it possible to study the problem of whether a familistic orientation contributes to the maintenance of stable family units. In this poll one of the questions asked was: Which of the following statements best expresses your attitude toward divorce?² (1) It should never be granted. (2) It should be granted only under certain circumstances. (3) It should be granted whenever the married couple decide they no longer wish to remain married.

Nearly one third of the 515 adults interviewed selected the third alternative, indicating a lack of conformity to the familistic value of a strong family unit. The respondents selecting alternatives (1) and (2) have been designated for purposes of this study the "familistic" group. Their expressed attitude indicates conformity to the familistic evaluation of divorce—at least in terms of the reflection of such an orientation as found in the legal code. The respondents selecting alternative (3) have been designated, for purposes of this study, the "emancipated" group. Their expressed attitude indicates a break from a familistic orientation.³

Hypothesis: If (a) familistic attitudes and beliefs contribute to the success or failure of marriage and (b) if attitude toward divorce can be considered one aspect of the whole familistic orientation, then it is hypothesized that *those factors found to be significantly associated with success or failure in marriage will similarly be found associated with attitude toward divorce.*

² Poll 13, Marital Adjustment Poll, Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, State College of Washington, December 1949.

The sample consists of 515 adults over twenty-one years of age residing in the state of Washington. An area probability sample design provides for the selection of respondents representative of adults residing in the state in December 1949. One must be aware in considering the data cited that the sample is a small one and the small size of some of the subcategories requires cautious analysis of the data and results presented.

³ As to the arbitrary classification of the first two responses to the question as being "familistic" and the third response as being "emancipated," the question could very properly be raised as to whether one who believes divorces should be granted only under certain circumstances should be considered in the same light as those who think it should never be granted. The critical factor might well be the particular circumstances the respondent feels justify divorce.

As a further refinement of the data, a new criterion for dichotomizing the respondents into "familistic" and "emancipated" was decided upon. Into the "familistic" group were placed the respondents who stated that divorces should never be granted or who indicated that the circumstances were adultery, infidelity, cruelty, etc. Into the "emancipated" group were placed respondents who had stated that divorce should be granted whenever a married couple decide they no longer wish to remain married or who indicated personality incompatibility as the circumstance.

No significant differences were found when this sample was compared with the sample reported in this paper, and likewise no further differences were found between the "familistic" and the "emancipated" groups.

Testing of the hypothesis. Data available to test the hypothesis consist, in the main, of (1) studies relating background factors to rate of divorce and (2) studies of factors related to success or failure in marital adjustment. It is, of course, well realized that neither source of data is adequate nor can either be considered definitive in terms of measuring the stability of marriage.⁴

Consideration of the results in the light of available data is, however, most striking.⁵ All the factors found to be related to differential attitude toward divorce are consistent with available information regarding factors associated with divorce and the results of marital adjustment studies. The findings of this study which do not support current research findings likewise do not contradict them. The absence of positive support for some of the previous findings may be explained in the light of regional differences between samples. For example, the Burgess and Cottrell study was mainly confined to persons of relatively high socioeconomic status residing in Chicago or in the metropolitan region. Chart 1 compares the results of this study with available data.

Conclusions. A tautological conclusion results from the acceptance of the hypothesis that the factors found to be significantly associated with success or failure in marriage are similarly associated with attitude toward divorce. In so far as attitude toward divorce is a measure of the familistic orientation of an individual, and in so far as previous studies used for comparison are valid measures of family stability, then *the more intense the familistic orientation, the more likelihood of a stable family.*

All evidence seems to indicate a decline in familistic attitudes in recent years. If a similar question had been asked fifty years ago, it is doubtful if one third of the sample would have volunteered an "emancipated" attitude toward divorce. The greater incidence of divorce itself may be used as an index of increased individualism. Burgess and Locke's emphasis upon the trend to a companionship-type marriage also indicates an increased awareness of the movement away from familism and toward individualism. A decrease in family stability is suggested by this evidence.

⁴ The reader is referred to Ray H. Abrams, "The Concept of Family Stability," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 1950, pp. 1-9; and to Albert Ellis, "The Value of Marriage Prediction Tests," *American Sociological Review*, December 1948, pp. 710-19, for critical examination of the above-mentioned points.

⁵ Space does not permit the inclusion of tables or a further description of the methodology.

CHART 1

COMPARISON OF RESULTS OF STUDY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

| Results of the Study on Attitudes toward Divorce | Available Data on Criteria for Successful Marriage |
|---|---|
|---|---|

1. RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

A strong religious orientation appears to be related to a "familistic" attitude toward divorce.¹ Specifically, having a favorable attitude toward marriage by a clergyman as well as identification with the Catholic faith appears to be related to a "familistic" attitude toward divorce. Those expressing no faith, while constituting only a very small group in the sample, seem to be predominantly members of the "emancipated" group.

¹Religious orientation was established by the cross tabulation of several related questions.

Locke¹ states that affiliation with a church is probably a mark of a sociable personality and is highly associated with marital adjustment. "Being married by a justice of the peace is not preferred in our culture and is unquestionably associated with maladjustment in marriage. More than one out of four divorced men and women as compared with one in eight men and women were married by a justice of the peace."

¹Harvey J. Locke, "Predicting Marital Adjustment by Comparing a Divorced and Happily Married Group," *American Sociological Review*, 12:190, April 1947.

Burgess and Cottrell² reported that those with no church connections ranked lower than average in "good" adjustment.

²Ernest W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Prediction of Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939), pp. 254-55.

Weeks,³ studying divorced cases in Spokane, found that the group having the highest number of divorces are those identifying themselves with no religious group.

³H. A. Weeks, "Divorce Rates by Occupation," *Social Forces*, 21:267-71, March 1943.

Results of the Study

Available Data

2. SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Higher socioeconomic status appears to be related to a "familistic" attitude toward divorce.² Education in particular shows a significant relationship.

²Socioeconomic status was established by the cross tabulation of questions related to education, income, and occupation.

Folsom⁴ reports in an early study (1929) that the recorded divorces of Vassar alumnae of the classes of 1902-16 amounted to 1:31. The general population of the Eastern states from which most of the Vassar students were drawn had a ratio for those years of 1:15.

⁴James Folsom, *Family and Democratic Society* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1943).

Burgess and Cottrell⁵ state that the higher the education, the better is the marital adjustment.

⁵William F. Ogburn, "Education, Income, and Family Unity," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53:474, May 1948.

A study of 5,000 cases by H. A. Weeks⁶ showed that irrespective of religion, divorce rates increased progressively from the professional group down to the semiskilled, where the trend reversed itself and the unskilled group showed a lower rate.

⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 270.

Burgess and Locke,⁷ Burgess and Cottrell,⁸ and Ogburn⁹ suggest that the higher the income, the more stable the marriage.

⁷E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke, *The Family* (New York: American Book Co., 1945), p. 631.

⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁹*Loc. cit.*

| Results of the Study | Available Data |
|----------------------|----------------|
|----------------------|----------------|

3. RURAL-URBAN AND MOBILITY

No relationships found.

Burgess and Locke,¹⁰ Mowrer,¹¹ and Burgess and Cottrell¹² report that the greater the mobility, the more likely a less stable marriage. Burgess and Locke and Mowrer base their conclusions on studies of differential rates of divorce; Burgess and Cottrell, on marriage prediction studies.

¹⁰*Loc. cit.*

¹¹Folsom, *op. cit.*, p. 512.

¹²*Op. cit.*, p. 245.

Burgess and Locke¹³ state that divorce is more frequent in urban than rural areas. Burgess and Cottrell¹⁴ found a significant relationship between place of residence in childhood and marital success.

¹³*Op. cit.*, p. 633.

¹⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 86.

4. WITHIN FAMILY DIFFERENCES

Happiness of parents' marriage may be related to a more "familistic" attitude. Neither number of children in family nor marital status is related.

Burgess and Locke¹⁵ report that happiness of parents' marriage is related to good marital adjustment.

¹⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 641.

5. ASCRIBED STATUSES

Sex seems to be related to attitude toward divorce, females holding a more "familistic" attitude. Age does not appear to be related.

This study, however, does indicate an alternative speculation. Higher socioeconomic status—education in particular—and a stronger religious orientation seem to be related to a familistic, viz., stable family. The increase in the educational level in our society and the possibility that the society is becoming more religiously orientated may be counteracting influences to the development of instability of the family group. Possibly, increased education and increased religious feeling may permit for increased expression within the family group. Likewise, such individuals may recognize, at a conscious level, the growing instability of the family

and, believing the family to be "good," may consciously develop and foster more familistic values.

The writers do caution that, although they have regarded a negative attitude toward divorce as one phase of the constellation of attitudes and beliefs known as familism, such a negative attitude may not indeed be at all related to the constellation of attitudes known as familism. It is not too clear why the familistic attitude should be related to such characteristics as education and socioeconomic status. Its relation to a religious orientation is understandable in the light of the traditionally close nexus existing between the traditionally familistic family and the organized church. However, its relation to sex may be a function of the woman's relatively unsatisfactory position after divorce. This sex differential in attitude toward divorce may also be a function of a more intense religious orientation of women. Both would account for the reluctance of the women in the sample to condone an emancipated attitude toward divorce.

Moreover, it may be that the relationship between attitude toward divorce and socioeconomic status is spurious. Neither income nor occupation showed significant relationship when considered separately; education may be the only related variable. If this is so, it may very likely be that differential attitude toward divorce may be related to education per se and not to familism. The data did not permit further testing of this hypothesis.

ACCULTURATION OF CHINESE AMERICANS

ROBERT LEE
Pacific School of Religion

Total and complete assimilation of a minority group member whose skin color sharply differentiates him from the majority society is well-nigh impossible if we are to understand assimilation to mean being transformed into a homogeneous part of the majority society's core culture. Short of intermarriage or the loss of physical visibility, which per se imposes a caste relationship, assimilation in this sense is indeed improbable. However, what is foreseeable and indeed inevitable in due course of time is the process of acculturation, which means the adopting of the cultural patterns of the majority society.

At present there are at least three groups into which most Americans of Chinese descent and the Chinese in America can be placed somewhat arbitrarily: (1) The relatively few who belong to the second, third, or fourth generation, who are more or less completely acculturated, and who often reject their own cultural heritage. This rejection frequently results in strained family relationships and in a type of social ostracism by one's own minority group members from whom, in some instances, one may derive his status role. (2) Those, also not of the first generation, who have become Americanized, but still hold on to some of the Chinese ways. This group tends to have a respectful attitude toward certain aspects of its older heritage, and is more likely to have favorable rapport with both the majority and minority groups, particularly the former. Members of this group are often in a position to interpret and compromise between the two cultures. They may be the "marginal man" who shares intimately in the cultural life and traditions of both cultures, never quite willing to break with his past and his traditions, even if he were permitted to do so, and yet not quite accepted in the majority society. (3) Finally, those who either have been cut off completely from contact with the majority society or are of the first generation, new immigrants, or war brides who have little conscious need for acculturation. They are content to stick by their old and time-honored ways. Members of this group usually prefer to live in a segregated area, thus having few contacts with the adopted land or its culture, since they are often circumscribed by the social and economic life of their own community.

It appears that the process of acculturation is inevitable and that there is an increasing desire, either consciously or unconsciously, to acculturate. However, this has been prevented largely through the historical restrictions imposed by the majority society. When one is thwarted from sharing equally in the goods of society, one tends to adopt temporary frames of security by means of substitute satisfactions. This often manifests itself in the strengthening of ties already established within a membership group. In-group solidarity is thereby fostered and the group often branded as "clannish." So the road to acculturation and ultimate assimilation is not to impress upon a minority group member that he ought to acculturate, but to clear away some of the thorny obstacles.

On the other hand, it might be questioned whether the Chinese-Americans are ready and willing to accept the strides made in better race relations since World War II, and whether the acculturation process is actually lagging behind the general societal situation. For example, there are several churches which are eager to invite Chinese-Americans either as individuals or as a whole congregation into their church, thereby eliminating the necessity of maintaining a separate and segregated church building. The stock answer to this proposal is that "we are not yet ready for such action."

The participation of minority group members in activities and jobs hitherto not ventured into is one definite way to add to the growing edge and break the vicious circle. Conversely, there is an equally great need for members of the majority society to participate in the activities of minority groups, thus paving the way for freer association. Acculturation thereby is a dynamic two-way process of interaction. It is not a monolithic, sterile proposition of one group immediately submerging itself completely in another group as the ostrich buries its head in the sand.

In the past both geographical segregation and occupational stratification have been imposed. The need for improved economic well-being enabling adequate participation in the fruits of the majority culture is largely dependent upon occupational opportunities. Continual progress in occupational mobility can be accelerated by positive legislative action, such as the recent FEPC proposals. Legislative action, which makes job discrimination because of race unlawful, in effect changes attitudes and beliefs toward racial discrimination. It gives legal and hence social disapproval to discriminatory behavior. Just as moral authority unchecked

by legal sanction is an inadequate means of securing the peace in the United Nations, so will leaving fair employment practices to the discretion and whim of the employer retard the acculturative process.

The Chinese-Americans have made remarkable progress since the 1870's. Occupational restrictions are gradually beginning to decrease, relaxation of housing restrictions has made possible emigration from a segregated community and an easier process of acculturation, and political barriers have been reduced with the realization that the Chinatown community represents a potential political bloc. In general, there is an increasing participation in civic affairs. It is hoped that the present Korean War will not have a regressive effect upon this trend toward acculturation and will not alter the more favorable attitudes already acquired by the majority society.

Certainly the Chinese have come a long way since the "cheap-labor-discriminatory-days" of the 1870's, when the slogan was "The Chinese must go!" In some ways most of them have become Americanized (acculturated), but whether they can ever become Americans (assimilated) is another question—perhaps one that can be answered only by the slow and painful process of time.

THE BOGARDUS SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE*

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The Bogardus Social Distance Test (1) is probably the most used single test of social attitudes, with a popularity that shows no signs of waning after twenty-seven years. It is also one of the oldest tests. Only the Harper test of liberalism-conservatism (6) is older among attitude tests that have been used beyond the research in which they were originally presented. The social distance test provides the backbone of Bogardus' outstanding research on race attitudes in the United States (2). It is also a major instrument in Hartley's recent research (7), that of Murphy and Likert (10), Zelig and Hendrickson (16), and of many, many others we have made no attempt to cite here. Perhaps even more outstanding is the fact that such subsequent research has reinforced Bogardus' main conclusions as to the generality within the United States of a hierarchy of preferences for nationality and ethnic groups, a hierarchy which even minority groups share in its essential outline (2, 7). The test has also been used to measure social distance toward professions, religious groups, conscientious objectors, etc. It is probably the most frequent illustration of attitude measurement cited in social psychology texts.

The test itself is simple. Although the various users have modified the instructions, and occasionally the items, the general format has usually been kept. In its original version it went like this: "According to my first feeling reactions, I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications under which I have placed a cross: 1. To close kinship by marriage. 2. To my club as personal chums. 3. To my street as neighbors. 4. To employment in my occupation in my country. 5. To citizenship in my country. 6. As visitors only to my country. 7. Would exclude from my country." Under the seven points as column headings were spaces to rate a large number of ethnic and nationality groups (1).

In spite of this general acceptance, the test has had a Cinderellalike history in its reputation for scientific respectability within the test-and-measurement fraternity. Some ten months after Bogardus first published the scale in 1925, Allport and Hartman published their article (4),

*This review was originally prepared at the request of Oscar K. Buros for use in his next edition of the *Mental Measurements Yearbook*.

which is often cited as the beginning of scientific attitude measurement. (Actually, efforts at attitude testing go back to 1920 at least.) Taking off from this article, L. L. Thurstone threw the elaborate machinery of the psychophysical methods into the problem of attitude test construction. The weight of this tradition and its greater claims for mathematical sophistication gave the Thurstone scales a superior prestige that today seems largely specious. (In general, the preponderant emphasis of the Thurstone methods was on the precise scaling of item intensity, a non-essential by current standards.) Item homogeneity is today the main objective (e.g., 8, 12). So dominating was this aura of scientific respectability that even Bogardus himself felt its weight and in 1933 (3) published a revision of his scale with "equal" steps, as established by processing some sixty social distance statements through the equal-appearing-intervals method (15). The items of this scale are as follows: 1. Would marry. 2. Would have as regular friends. 3. Would work beside in an office. 4. Would have several families in my neighborhood. 5. Would have merely as speaking acquaintances. 6. Would have live outside my neighborhood. 7. Would have live outside my country. So far as the present reviewer is aware, this revision has not been extensively used. Hartley (7), for instance, used the original scale, adding an additional step "to my school as classmates" between Bogardus' steps 3 and 4. So far did the reputation for scientific respectability of the Bogardus scale slip that McNemar (9) was able to completely ignore it in his otherwise thorough review of the literature.

Fads in attitude measurement have changed, however, and today the apex of respectability is occupied by a specialized language of internal consistency known as Guttman Scale Analysis, with its criteria of unidimensionality and reproducibility. The twenty or thirty Thurstone scales of social attitude are made obsolete by this criterion (and, incidentally, also by Thurstone's own later criterion of interitem factor analysis). And, although Guttman has not expressly stated so, the original Bogardus Social Distance Scale is a perfect illustration of the hierarchical unidimensional set of items that scale analysis requires. (For scale analysis purposes, slight rewording would be required of item 6 in the original scale, so that it would read "As visitors to my country," and thus avoid the double-endedness of its original wording. In the 1933 revised scale, item 5 would have to drop the word *merely*.) Two very recent research reports have explicitly confirmed this, finding that in larger batteries of items dealing with attitudes toward Negroes, only items in the social distance domain "scaled" (11, 13).

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale shares, of course, the difficulties of all measuring instruments depending upon voluntary self-description by the population under study. This weakness is to be found in all published attitude tests and in all interest tests except those utilizing differential information profiles. In spite of this limitation, much valuable research has been done with such techniques, characteristically using anonymity as a substitute for disguise. Another note of caution seems indicated where, as in the studies of Hartley (7) and Murphy and Likert (10), the social distance test involving a large number of out-groups is scored to get one general ethnocentrism or xenophobia score. As Cronbach (5) has so ably pointed out, any repetitive response required of the respondent may create "response sets," which in an irrelevant way increase the internal consistency of the test. Both Murphy and Likert (10) and Hartley (7) report split-half reliabilities, corrected, in the range .94 to .97, with the social distance test involving twenty-one to thirty-two social groups to be judged. This reliability for a test taking but ten minutes is so high as to cause suspicion rather than comfort. The present reviewer would also tend to interpret as evidence of response set rather than validity Hartley's (7) finding that the social distance expression to three nonexistent ethnic groups (e.g., Pireneans) correlated .80 with the composite social distance score based on thirty-two actual ethnic and nationality groups. These qualifications are minor, however, and do not affect the more sociological use of the test for ranking social groups in popular favor. Among social attitude tests the Social Distance Scale is so good, and so naturally suited to its purpose, that if Bogardus had not invented it, someone else would have. Such a situation is rare indeed in the social sciences.

Bogardus Social Distance Scale. Appropriate for measuring social distance (acceptance or rejection) toward racial, national, religious, occupational, or other definable social groups. Suitable for use as a group test for adults and children down to the sixth grade. Attitudes toward twenty or so groups can be assessed in ten to twenty minutes. Originally published in 1925, with a revision in 1933. Use of the original form is recommended. Not copyrighted.

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PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Annual Pacific Sociological Meeting. The Department of Sociology at the University of Southern California served as host to the Pacific Sociological Society meeting held on April 4 and 5. Dean Tracy Strevey of the College of Letters, Arts, and Sciences extended the welcome of the University of Southern California to the visiting sociologists coming from as far as British Columbia and the Atlantic seaboard for this conference. While it is impossible to comment on each of the papers read and discussed, perhaps some range of the subject matter under investigation by the participants may be appreciated by noting a few of the topics: ethnocentrism and Naval recruits (D. Briggs), business cycles and crimes (J. Short), job satisfaction of nurses (L. Wager), amateur athletics and social disorganization (R. Faris), social mobility and fertility planning (R. Reimer), rumor diffusion (S. Dodd), and union role and minority group leaders (S. Greer). At the dinner meeting the Presidential Address by Dr. Paul Wallin was read by Dr. Leonard Broom.

The new officers of the Pacific Sociological Society were installed on April 4 as follows:

President—Stuart C. Dodd, University of Washington

Vice-President—S. Frank Miyamoto, University of Washington
(North)

Vice-President—Robert A. Nisbet, University of California, Berkeley
(Central)

Vice-President—Charles B. Spaulding, Whittier College (South)

Advisory Council—George A. Lundberg, University of Washington

Secretary-Treasurer—Ralph H. Turner, University of California, Los Angeles

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

THE MALAYAS, A CULTURAL HISTORY. By Richard Winstedt. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. vii+198.

The author of this short booklet does not pretend to give a full cultural history of the Malayas. He is selective in treatment. The origin and the present composition of the Malayan population are presented briefly. Language, religion, social systems, political systems, economic culture, literature, arts, and crafts are treated. Various interesting beliefs, customs, or practices are cited in connection with the above culture clusters. Malayan culture includes traits or complexes from a number of old and contemporary cultures. It is cosmopolitan in this sense. Although the presentation is somewhat choppy, the material is interesting and would probably serve as a good reference source for further study of Malayan culture.

LOUIS PETROFF

Southern Illinois University

CHAMORROS AND CAROLINIANS OF SAIPAN: PERSONALITY STUDIES. By Alice Joseph, M.D., and Veronica F. Murray, M.D. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. xviii+381.

The scientific approach to problems of colonial administration—now more popularly called "trusteeship"—is well illustrated by this study. The authors have been careful to state the many limitations imposed on the study by the need for providing the naval authorities with useful data; the use of relatively short, standardized psychological and psychiatric methods, since the shortness of time did not allow individual and personal studies or systematic research; the lack of sociological studies of community life, moral standards, and cultural values; and, particularly, the difficulties inherent in the use of interpreters.

After the introductory historical and sociocultural chapters the authors devote most of their space to the results of intelligence tests, the Bender gestalt tests, and Rorschach tests of some two hundred native children selected at random and Rorschach tests of about thirty native adults. The particular tests used were presumably almost "culture free," making possible direct comparison with results secured from other culture groups.

The sociologist's interest lies chiefly in the fact that these particular peoples are "marginal men" and "culture hybrids," as they have been

under European influences since the seventeenth century. The study showed the native personality was that of a "profoundly frustrated people who, against overpowering forces, strive for survival and self-esteem" (p. 293). Two interesting but very brief "life-histories" are given in the Appendix. Also of interest is a long chapter on psychiatric findings in which there is considerable discussion as to whether mental disease is influenced by culture, whether or not mental disease is a relative term indicating inability to function in a particular culture, and the extent to which schizophrenia is a disease of acculturation.

The statistical analysis is well done and there is a good selected bibliography. Students of personality need to become conversant with this study.

E.F.Y.

CULTURE WORLDS. By Richard Joel Russell and Fred Bowerman Kniffen. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951, pp. xviii+620.

In this scholarly and outstanding work the authors present a new approach to geography which surveys the world on a cultural basis. In order to show how the earth's surface is being utilized and altered by peoples having great differences in culture, nations and areas are grouped into seven "culture worlds," namely, the European, Dry, African, Oriental, Polar, Pacific, and American worlds. Each has subordinate realms and regions, as brought out in detail in some fifteen chapters.

For each cultural group of nations there is a statement of the physical and cultural background, indicating climate, topography, natural resources, also racial, linguistic, religious, economic, political, and other data which are characteristic of the cultural area. The geographer is more or less expected to describe the world as he finds it, noting contemporary traits and typical cultural landscapes; but these authors not only are realistic in this respect, they have observed that the earth is being modified into forms that are especially characteristic of European cultures.

This superior book is not merely geography, it is human and cultural geography. As Arnold J. Toynbee has studied history in terms of civilizations, these authors have studied geography in terms of cultural groups or "culture worlds." This should enhance the value of the entire work for students of population, social anthropology, and cultural sociology, as well as for college classes in geography. The publishers should be commended for an excellent job of printing and binding, in keeping with the quality of the textual contents.

J.E.N.

THE NEGRO FREEDMAN. By Henderson H. Donald. New York: Henry Schuman, 1952, pp. 270.

A very readable and accurate account is given of the life conditions of the American Negro during the early years of emancipation. Many of the former slaves interpreted "freedom" to mean a chance to be on the "move." Thus, many of the emancipated slaves left the plantations during the harvest period to drift into cities and towns. Another early definition of freedom obviated the necessity for consistent work, and work in general. Perhaps the third most important reaction to freedom was the wide acceptance of the rumor that each Negro family was to receive "forty acres and an old gray mule." Northern "sharpers" exploited every belief and rumor of the Negro in selling freedom to them. Other important reactions discussed by Donald are those toward education, religion, recreation, crime, and politics. Special attention is directed to the emergence of the caste system of social status in the South. This fine book is characterized by objective scholarship and a readable style.

E.C.M.

CHANGING THE ATTITUDE OF CHRISTIAN TOWARD JEW. By Henry E. Kagan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952, pp. ix+155.

In the "indirect method" the experiments show that furnishing information to non-Jews about Jewish history and culture has little effect on reducing anti-Semitism. The experiments using the "direct method" involved discussions of anti-Jewish reactions. Individual students were encouraged to talk about their personal anti-Jewish feelings. The results seem to show a definite reduction in anti-Semitism. The "focused interview," where a Rabbi held a half-hour personal discussion with the student, was not as effective in cutting down prejudice as the "direct method." Experiments conducted eight months after the original ones seem to indicate that the results of the "direct method" were lasting. No experiments were conducted in what Rabbi Wise emphasized several years ago, namely, the ways in which some Jews need to change their behavior in order not to arouse anti-Semitism on the part of nonhostile non-Jews. Dr. Kagan's experiments are important as far as they go but need to be widely extended in various types of situations. The "half-hour interview" in the "focused interview" is probably too brief to produce the desired results.

E.S.B.

JIM CROW. By Jesse Walter Dees, Jr., and James Stiles Hadley. Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1951, pp. 529.

Jim Crow is the combined effort of a Caucasian professor of sociology and a Negro social work executive. The authors present a general picture of Jim Crow accommodation in the South—the attitudes of paternalism, gradualism, public discrimination, and legal segregation. They believe that the “Deep South” will never be culturally and economically as well off as most states in the North while there remains exploitation of cheap Negro labor.

“James Crow,” as the proper title for the “separate but equal” phrase, is coined by the authors. They take an uncompromising position that the phrase is a disguised form of Jim Crowism to keep the Negro in his place. Another interesting point is the interpretation that Booker T. Washington’s Atlantic compromise was not so in reality, but a plea for full democratic equality and civil liberties.

This profusely illustrated book helps to make vivid racial attitudes in the nation’s capital, as well as in the South. It includes a good bibliography and several self-rating social distance race relations scales. The variety of type styles in the printing makes the reading difficult, and inadequate proofreading accounts for obvious errors. The authors do not unify the frame of reference from chapter to chapter, but, on the whole, they are to be commended for a candid book which contains a fund of information adapted from various authorities and sources of studies on race relations.

I. ROGER YOSHINO

WILLIAM JOHNSON’S NATCHEZ. The Ante-Bellum Diary of a Free Negro. Edited by William Ranson Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951, pp. 812.

Students of history and race relations will find Johnson’s diary a splendid insight into community life in a Mississippi town during the years 1835 and 1851. The diarist was a barber by vocation and an astute observer of the social life of Natchez by avocation. He developed into a money lender, landlord, small farmer, and slave owner. Some of his descriptions of current problems will bring smiles to tension-minded readers of the atomic age. Most of the entries by Johnson concern business, politics, horse races, “duels between gentlemen,” and the deviations from morality. The work represents a distinct contribution to the field of Southern historiography.

E.C.M.

NAVAHO MEANS PEOPLE. Photographs by Leonard McCombe; text by Evon Z. Vogt and Clyde Kluckhohn. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. 159.

Photographer-journalist McCombe has used the photo-story technique made popular by *Life* magazine to report on some lesser-known aspects of Navaho culture. The result is an attractive and informative addition to the store of literature about this interesting people.

The book contains 180 excellent photographs, each with an explanatory caption. The pictures admittedly do not cover every aspect of Navaho life: emphasis is put on the older, traditional ways of the "People," as the Navaho call themselves, and on the difficulties they face in adjusting to an alien culture.

Complementing the photographs are several concise articles by Harvard anthropologists Vogt and Kluckhohn, both of whom have had years of research experience with the Navaho. Their competence is reflected in the clear, nontechnical discussions they present on such subjects as social life and religion and the Navaho view of life, economic problems, education, health, and the problem of cultural adjustment. In discussing the last topic, the authors point out that the "Navaho problem" is typical of the obstacles confronting the United Nations in their efforts to reorganize the "underdeveloped" areas of the world. Sheer technical assistance and economic help are not enough; such assistance "may solve some of the food, clothing, and shelter problems, but it also disrupts the dynamic equilibrium in the whole way of life of a people and sets up a train of changes in family, community and religious life." Any program of development of "backward" areas must see the problems in their full social and cultural complexity if it is to succeed.

EUNICE D. LOSEFF

ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By Raymond Firth. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. xii+257.

This book consists of a series of lectures delivered at the University of Birmingham, England; the author is a professor of social anthropology in the University of London. He describes social anthropology broadly as the study of the social process in more primitive societies. More specifically, the social anthropologist is concerned with patterns of human behavior, how conformity to these patterns draws people together in groups, how the groups interact to allow the operation of what may be called society, the controls for group and individual action, and social or cultural values. Social anthropology is distinguished from other social

studies in (1) its intensive, detailed observation of the behavior of people in group relations, (2) its holistic character, and (3) its emphasis on comparison. The three chief methods of the social anthropologist are observation, interpretation (assignment of meanings), and expression. He must, therefore, observe keenly, reason logically, and express himself clearly. By way of comparison, the author says, "An historian may be deaf, a jurist may be blind, a philosopher may be both, but it is essential to an anthropologist to hear what people are saying, to see what they are doing," to assign meaning to what he sees and hears, and to express his interpretation as clearly as possible.

The selected fields of social anthropology analyzed in this book are (1) structure and organization in small communities, (2) social change in peasant communities, (3) the social framework of economic organization, (4) the social framework of primitive art, (5) moral standards and social organization, and (6) religion in social reality. Having personally done considerable research among primitive peoples, especially among the Tikopia, the author has cited numerous illustrations from his own observations, as well as from the works of many other students.

LOUIS PETROFF

Southern Illinois University

SOCIAL WELFARE

THE ONLY WAR WE SEEK. By Arthur Goodfriend with a foreword by Chester Bowles. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Young, Inc., 1951, pp. 128. Published for Americans for Democratic Action.

This slender, paper-bound volume presents in few words and many pictures some cogent reasons for the Communist victory in China, the lesson to be learned from the defeat of Western democracy, and a key to the present riddle of democracy's lack of friends despite decades of missionary work, expanding trade, and the billions spent on global aid.

The author develops his thesis from four points of reference: (1) the Chinese people, (2) American policies and actions as we saw them and as they were seen by the Chinese, (3) Kremlin techniques in China, (4) an insistent affirmation that democracy can win the fight against poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy—but only if we profit by the lessons learned in China, lessons in humility, gradualness, sensitivity to the feelings of other people, and an understanding appreciation of their culture patterns, to mention but a few of the hints given in this simply told and dramatically illustrated story.

MARGARET EAGER

THE FAMILY. By Willard Waller. Revised by Reuben Hill. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951, pp. vii+635.

This text of twenty-five chapters and an appendix is a revised edition of Willard Waller's distinctive family work, first published in 1938. Reuben Hill has made a distinct contribution to the original edition without greatly altering Waller's basic presentation, which set forth the significant and pertinent factors in the study of the middle-class American family. The text has been rewritten along the lines of the latest data and research in this and pertinent related fields, holding to the basic theoretical framework so admirably set forth by the senior author. Actually, it could be called a new text with Waller and Hill as collaborators.

The work emphasizes the social-psychological factors in this basic and primary situation and, although it deals with a culture institution, the authors do not treat it as such. In fact, throughout the text, emphasis is on the dynamic interactive factors and the interpretation of these dynamics in courtship, marriage, family behavior, parenthood, and divorce in present-day family organization.

The general pattern of presentation follows the normal etiology of family life. The only negative criticism that suggests itself is that the appendix note, which is so challenging, might have been more fruitful for student use if it had been interwoven into the main fabric of the text.

NICK MASSARO

TWO KINDS OF A NATION. A Housing Program. By Nathan Strauss. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952, pp. xiii+291.

A part of the housing problem comes from two different facts, the aging of present houses and the increases in population. As a result, "the ranks of the homeless and ill-housed will multiply year by year." The author states that in the United States "there is practically no new housing produced by private enterprise at a figure the average American family can afford." This is "the hard core of the housing problem." The problem is to bridge "the gap between what Americans can afford to pay for shelter and the cost of new housing." The work of real estate lobbies is described; for example, "a single congressman, with only 280,000 people in his district, had mailed out 900,000 postage-free franked letters containing 2,250,000 copies of speeches against public housing, rent control, etc." Thus, government by pressure groups is seen in some of its undemocratic forms.

E.S.B.

INDIA AND THE NEW ORDER. *An Essay on Human Planning.* By Sris Chandra Chatterjee, C.E. Calcutta University, 1949, pp. 178.

The book is divided into three parts; in Part I, India and the New Order, the importance of planning "not only in relation to advanced technical methods, but also in relation to the social organization" of India is stressed. A central planning board is advocated with regional planning committees to connect local plans with a "vast countrywide National Plan." Part II contains a number of articles by various authors, and Part III contains observations of eminent persons on claims of Indian architecture. A map of ancient India and nine photographic illustrations are included. The emphasis on planning in relation to India's culture and Indian conditions is sound. B.A.MCC.

SOCIAL TREATMENT IN PROBATION AND DELINQUENCY. By Pauline V. Young. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951, pp. xxvi+536.

Many significant changes in the understanding and treatment of juvenile delinquency have occurred since the writing of the author's original volume; therefore, she has found it necessary to rewrite the greater part of the book. This revision is the fortunate product of many years of additional research and firsthand study of courts, probation departments, case records, and juvenile detention facilities. Several new chapters have been added and others enlarged.

Approximately two hundred pages are devoted to the methods and techniques employed in dealing with delinquents and their families. Extracts from case histories and other pertinent data are presented to illustrate the social, psychological, and cultural backgrounds out of which juvenile delinquency emerges. From this material the reader will obtain a deeper understanding of the underlying factors in our social system that motivate particular forms of conduct and determine modes of behavior. Effective treatment, therefore, required the constructive comprehension of these psychosocial forces through local, state, and federal agencies—all working under trained and intelligent leadership.

The two chapters which depict actual juvenile court hearings and procedures are most illuminating. One of the hearings illustrates the enlightened handling of an individual, not as an offender, but as a person needing guidance. Another hearing exemplifies anachronistic court procedure and judicial inadequacy. Such contrasts serve as useful aids to progressive thinking.

State youth authorities which are of recent date earn a chapter, but the discussion of the role of religion is considerably curtailed. Several jarring statements imply that the churches are not sufficiently aggressive in campaigns against the causes of delinquency. Likewise, there are some justifiable grounds for dissatisfaction with the work of the schools.

The book has been greatly enriched through the addition of much new material and restatement of the old. Certain phases of the problem are omitted because they have been effectively handled by other writers. The author is clearly both a sociologist and a social worker G.B.M.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN TEACHER EDUCATION. By Lloyd Allen Cook. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1951, pp. 262.

Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education is the second and final volume on the College Study in Intergroup Relations, a project directed by the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education, published by the American Council on Education, and financed by a grant from the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

As an educational sociologist skilled in field organization, Dr. Cook believes that the university has a responsibility for moral leadership in the community . . . that the school is one important agency to be utilized in widely united action for the reduction of prejudice. The role of the teacher is viewed as a change maker—"that there shall be a better society," not just one of a faculty in which each teaches what he wants or is hired to teach. He expects teachers to "look anew at area life about them, the culture of which they are a part, and the prejudices imposed on children and . . . a new kind of teacher to emerge, a *teacher leader*."

Within these functions and roles he defines a program in intergroup relations which focuses on majority-minority relations by way of status—with such goals as equalizing the conditions of free enterprise by reducing prejudice and discrimination, providing leadership in school-community coordination, and popularizing scientific findings as to human nature and group relations. Special topics are group process teaching, prejudice, and strategy in community planning.

The volume contains useful descriptions of research techniques and group process methods. There are also accounts of ways in which consultants work and of the problems they encounter. "Intergroup education must work in high tensional areas where fears run deep . . . and risks of failure are great."

JANE HOOD

THE AMERICAN TRADITION IN RELIGION AND EDUCATION. By R. Freeman Butts. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950, pp. xiv+230.

The author deals with present-day problems of separation of church and state and the meaning of separation for education. For historical perspective, it is shown what "establishment of religion" meant in Colonial America and what the principle of separation signified for the original states. The struggle for separation of church and state in Virginia is cited as an example, and the principle of separation for the nation as a whole is examined, with special attention to the provisions of the First Amendment and the elements of conflict that followed up to the time of the Fourteenth Amendment.

During the nineteenth century it was debatable whether education should be subject to "cooperation" between church and state with no religious freedom, or with some free exercise of religion. To represent high points in the argument, the views of Jefferson and Madison on separation in education are cited, and other views are given to represent attitudes before the Civil War and after that war. All this is background material for an understanding of contemporary issues, such as whether public funds shall be used for sectarian schools and whether sectarian religious instruction shall be promoted by the public schools. The study is timely, fair, and objective in its method of presenting critical questions concerning the relations between church, state, and education in America.

J.E.N.

PROBATION AND PAROLE. By David Dressler. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 237.

Probation and Parole seeks to articulate a rationale of probation and parole by providing a full-length statement on the philosophy, administration, and processes in these fields. The book seems to be the only thoroughgoing critique in the field. It does clarify how and why various things are done in probation and parole work. Dressler states that the goal is "to make anti-social people social and to protect society against them in the process." In defining and differentiating probation and parole, he continues, "the parolee serves part of his sentence inside, part outside an institution; the probationer serves all his time outside." The author leaves research in crime causation generally to the sociologists, psychologists, and criminologists. He feels that adequate treatment requires a complete knowledge of what goes to make up the total person.

DEMPSTER E. DIRKS

CHRIST AND COMMUNITY: AN EXPLORATION OF CO-OPERATIVE FELLOWSHIP. By Gilbert A. Beaver. New York: Association Press, 1950, pp. 367.

In this scholarly, penetrating, and provocative volume the author succeeds in bringing the reader back to the principle of community (Koinonia) as the central core in Jesus' teaching and way of life. Here is a practical book that invites its readers to test for themselves the attitudes and ways of living through which Jesus enriched personal and community life—that helps people to build the Christian community where they are, and not in separation from the world. It shows the effectiveness of love and suffering as a medium of social control as over against the use of violence. Jesus is here shown to have left the world an example of a much-needed integration of the scientific attitude and religion.

In a fresh and vital way this significant book recovers the apostolic concept of community and sets it forth as a guide for twentieth-century living in all communities, from the smallest rural neighborhood to the world itself.

The work has facets of interest not only for students of the community but for those interested in group dynamics, social philosophy, and social problems as well.

VERNON A. SNOWBARGER

WORKING TOGETHER. By Cecil Crews. Kansas City: Consumers Co-operative Association, 1951, pp. 60.

The book contains thirteen chapters designed as lessons for school use, particularly in rural schools. In the Introduction Howard A. Cowden states that "cooperatives are becoming a powerful force in American economic life" and that "75 per cent of all farmers in the United States belong to one or more cooperatives"; hence, their children need to learn about cooperatives. Senator Taft is quoted as saying that "cooperation is as American as baseball." The author points out that "actually co-ops are free enterprises" and that "cooperation is not socialism, since the people, not the government, own the cooperatives." Moreover, "cooperatives are not communistic since they want no revolution—no dictatorship; co-ops keep ownership in the hands of the people—co-ops are democratic." The book is clearly written and contains many facts about cooperatives all the way from local ones to the International Cooperative Alliance. It is attractively illustrated on every page by cleverly drawn sketches.

E.S.B.

POPULATION ON THE LOOSE. By Elmer Pendell. New York: Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1951, pp. viii+398.

The theme of this book is that the growth of population has proceeded at such a rate, since the turn of the twentieth century, that it has outstripped the advancements made in technology to satisfy the needs of population. The ideas presented concerning the growth of population are challenging in a popular way, although the author's anticipation of the net results of the tremendous spurt in population is questionable. The major conclusion of the book is that a drastic population reduction is essential if living standards are to be maintained; however, no practical solution is indicated.

The book has a breezy, informal style and is written mainly for popular consumption rather than for scholarly use. The format and presentation of the material have the general aspects of an urban newspaper.

NICK MASSARO

WORLD TENSION. THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Edited by George W. Kisker. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951, pp. 324.

Twenty-two leading psychologists and psychiatrists of twenty nations submit in this volume answers to four questions: (1) What is wrong with the world today? (2) What has caused this wrong or these wrongs? (3) What can be done to correct these situations? (4) What are the prospects? In general, the purpose of the study is to determine whether there are grounds for believing that the fear of war is the cause of general tension today; or, on the other hand, to consider whether war is the ultimate result of conflicts born of deeper tensions. Owing to the nature of the reports of the informants, the authors take the reader behind the scenes of governments and conferences and the usual accounts of the press, to make known what is happening among the people themselves.

J.E.N.

MAN AND HIS YEARS. An Account of the First National Conference on Aging. Sponsored by the Federal Security Agency. Raleigh, North Carolina: Health Publications Institute, Inc., 1951, pp. 311.

A total of 816 participants from various parts of the United States discuss eleven broad fields relating to aging, such as income maintenance, employability, health maintenance, education maintenance, home life maintenance, recreational activities, religious programs. The document is full of interesting ideas and proposals for anyone interested in activities in behalf of those who are growing old.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY

PREDICTING ADJUSTMENT IN MARRIAGE: A COMPARISON OF A DIVORCED AND A HAPPILY MARRIED GROUP. By Harvey J. Locke. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951, pp. xx+406.

The author's choice of the groups to be studied in this investigation was based on the assumption that the happiness of marital adjustment is a continuum and that happily married and divorced groups best represent the extremes of the variable in question. The validity of the assumption depends upon (1) the accuracy with which exceptionally happy marriages are identified by the method used and (2) the extent to which divorce is a valid criterion of marital unhappiness. Unquestionably, the purity of the contrasting samples thus obtained is to some extent vitiated. With few exceptions each of the happy marriages was selected on the basis of but one person's judgment (that of a relative, friend, or acquaintance), and such judgments are known to be subject to errors, however expert the judge. In this case the judges could hardly qualify as experts, as they themselves were picked to represent a random sample of divorced and happily married persons in the general population of the community where the study was carried out. As for the validity of divorce as a criterion of marital unhappiness, it is a matter of common knowledge that other factors than degree of unhappiness often help to determine whether a given couple will resort to this solution of their marital dissatisfaction. Among such factors are the presence or absence of children, social attitudes, and religious scruples. It is probably true that a divorce is rarely obtained unless there is considerable unhappiness on the part of one or both of the spouses, but it is no less certain that many other marriages equally unhappy remain intact.

The above comments are not meant to imply that a comparative study of two groups selected as these were could not yield valuable data. The only question is whether the groups chosen represent more nearly pure extremes of the marital adjustment variable than two groups of married couples selected on the basis of very high and very low scores on a marital adjustment test. The reviewer's present opinion, based on experience with both types of contrasting groups, is that they do not.

This study differs from earlier ones in the fact that Locke made a special effort to obtain representative samples for his criterion groups. Both samples were obtained in a single county in Indiana. The divorced group was as nearly as possible a random sample of couples who had been divorced in this county in the ten years or so preceding the study.

It could not be completely random because some of the divorced persons had moved away and others were unwilling to cooperate. The final divorced sample included 201 divorced couples and, in addition, 50 divorced men and 73 divorced women whose mates could not be contacted or refused to cooperate. The happily married sample included 200 couples. About three fourths of both groups had lived throughout marriage in a city of 2,500 population or larger and 12 per cent in smaller towns and villages. Strictly rural areas were but lightly represented. About two thirds of the men in both groups were skilled or unskilled laborers and only 10 per cent were in the professional class. The median amount of education was about nine school grades completed. The subjects were native-born whites and were almost exclusively Protestant or of Protestant background.

Each subject filled out a questionnaire of 107 items calling for a large amount of information and, in addition, rated self, mate, father, and mother on 16 personality traits. The information may be classified under the following categories: (1) General Background, including date and place of birth, schooling, occupational history, health history, number of times subject had been married or divorced, and frequency of divorce among relatives of specified kinship; (2) Family Background, including number of siblings, education and occupation of parents, parental discipline, childhood happiness, and rated degree of affection for and conflict with each parent; (3) Courtship, including eight items; (4) Marital Adjustment, including 29 items which together yield a marital adjustment score; (5) Sex Adjustment, including 16 items relating to such things as premarital and extramarital intercourse of self and mate, frequency of intercourse in the marriage, and relative passionateness of self and spouse; (6) Ratings on 16 personality traits of self, spouse, father, and mother.

The contacts and interviews were made by the author and several trained assistants. A schedule of 108 questions was filled out during the interview, which ordinarily lasted about two hours.

Most of the items of information called for were either identical with or similar to items that had previously been used in the studies by Terman,¹ Burgess and Cottrell,² Burgess and Wallin,³ and others. This

¹ Lewis M. Terman *et al.*, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938), pp. xiv+474.

² Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939), pp. xxiii+472.

³ Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, "Predicting Adjustment in Marriage from Adjustment in Engagement," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49:524-30, 1944.

makes it possible to compare in detail Locke's results with the results obtained in other and differing populations.

The evaluation of each item as predictive of marital adjustment was based primarily upon a comparison of the responses given to the item by happily married and divorced subjects. In general, response differences between the two groups that yielded a critical ratio of 2.00 or greater were regarded as predictive. In the case of many items additional comparisons were made, for both married and divorced subjects, between those who scored high and those who scored low in the marital adjustment test (the 29 items in class 4 above). However, the weights assigned to all the 29 items that make up the marital adjustment test were based entirely on the extent to which a given response discriminated between happily married and divorced subjects.

The latter procedure raises a serious question, for it assumes that testimony given by a subject about adjustments in a marriage that ended in divorce one to several years previously is as valid as that given about an existing marriage. One may question the assumption on two grounds: (1) the greater fallibility of memory in reporting distant events and (2) the possible distortion of facts by a (perhaps unconscious) desire to justify the divorce. As the getting of a divorce is often a highly emotional and traumatic experience, it is likely to have the effect of causing the divorced respondent to exaggerate the shortcomings of the ex-spouse and the unsatisfactoriness of the marriage generally. Some respondents will take advantage of every opportunity offered by the test items to register their "complaints." But for this factor the overlap of 25 per cent found between the adjustment scores of divorced and happily married couples would doubtless have been even greater. Although Locke calls attention to possible influence of the complaint motive on certain items in the adjustment test, there is reason to believe that he underestimates its effect on the total adjustment score.

Terman and Bittenwieser⁴ also made a comparative study of happily married and divorced couples, but in that investigation no attempt was made to obtain marital happiness scores for their divorced group. Instead, the comparisons of the two groups were limited to childhood and family background data and to responses given by the subjects in filling out Bernreuter's personality inventory and Strong's test of vocational interests. Such data would presumably not be materially affected by the divorce experience. Where Locke's comparisons relate to other matters

⁴ Lewis M. Terman and Paul Bittenwieser, "Personality Factors in Marital Compatibility," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 6:143-71, 267-89, 1935.

than the information called for in his marital adjustment test, his results are presumably valid. That such is the case is indicated by the fact that the correlates of marital adjustment as revealed by comparisons of his criterion groups are often in substantial agreement with those which other investigators have found by the use of other groups and other procedures. There are also interesting disagreements, some of which may be due to the fact that Locke's samples are more representative of the general population than the samples used in earlier studies. Space does not permit any summary here of such agreements and disagreements.

Some 300 pages of the book are taken up with tabular data on and discussion of the results obtained for the individual items. The author's presentation is precise and follows the same pattern from item to item. This, coupled with a paucity of interpretative hypotheses to explain the significance of the findings, makes for rather monotonous reading. One sometimes feels that it would have been better if the author had displayed more imagination and less meticulous exactitude. Despite this minor shortcoming, Locke's book is a valuable addition to the scientific literature on marital adjustments and will serve as a helpful reading reference for college classes on marriage and the family.

One more comment. A reader of the book needs to take careful note of the N's used in specific comparisons. That these are not the same for all tables is due to the fact that neither criterion group was homogeneous. For example, in the divorced group of 201 couples were 32 couples whose marriages were "forced" by premarital pregnancy. These were omitted from many but not all of the comparisons. There were 123 divorced subjects whose mates were not interviewed, and these are used in some comparisons and not in others. The divorced group includes subjects married once only and others married and divorced two or more times. The N of the happily married subjects varies according to whether the table includes or excludes the subjects who had had a previous marriage. All this is sometimes confusing, since N's are not always given in the table and in some cases can be learned only by reference to a footnote or to something that has been stated in the textual discussion.

LEWIS M. TERMAN
Stanford University

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. *An Introduction to Political Sociology.* By Rudolf Heberle. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951, pp. xvi+478.

The principal object of this textbook is to present a general sociological theory of social and political movements. The study of political action is regarded as an important field of sociology. The organization falls into seven parts. The first states the general principles of social movements and draws distinctions between liberalism and conservatism, socialism and communism. In Part II social movements and political parties are viewed in terms of social psychology. Social foundations essential for the study are taken up in Part III, followed in the next section by ecological studies. The remainder of the volume is devoted to principles of structure and organization of social movements and political parties, their tactics and strategy, and their functions as movements and parties. Throughout the work, the data concerning social movements and political parties are interwoven or dealt with as complementary. The author's conception of this text as introductory political sociology is apt enough. It should prove to be useful as a textbook for courses in social movements, some other books in the field having become dated or stereotyped.

J.E.N.

THE PROGRESS OF COOPERATIVES. *With Aids for Teachers.* By C. Maurice Wieting. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952, pp. xiv+210.

In view of the extensive development of cooperatives of various kinds—consumers, marketing, credit, health, housing, insurance—it is important that youth learn about these forms of business enterprise for meeting the material and service needs of people. The author gives a great variety of facts about cooperative enterprise, together with suggestions for teaching units, for example, outlines of topics, annotated statements, and titles of appropriate films. One of the best of these films is entitled "The Skokie School Store—A Consumers' Cooperative." An extensive script that accompanies this film is given. The bibliography of references for the use of teachers includes twelve pages of titles. The data on the extent of teaching about cooperatives in the United States indicate that this development is greater in rural than urban areas and that it takes place largely through teaching units as parts of other courses, such as social studies, vocational studies, home economics. They also indicate that public school teachers as a class have been taught little in schools of education about that form of private enterprise known as cooperatives.

E.S.B.

PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION. By Emory S. Bogardus. Chicago: Co-operative League of U.S.A., 1952, pp. vii+68.

This scholarly, compact book offers far more of importance for the thoughtful cooperator than the number of its pages indicates. It gives orientation to the cooperative movement by suggesting its role in current society and its relationship to the evolutionary past. References to various studies dealing with cooperation provide important data which the serious student of the subject can use to advantage.

By taking a broad, society-focused approach to cooperation and by describing its philosophical bases, Dr. Bogardus has performed a needed service for a generation of cooperators whose thoughts are so largely focused on balance sheets. Since the book is clearly not for the average cooperative novice, it is to be hoped that its author will see fit to expand it to meet the current need for a college-level text for courses in co-operation.

ALFRED SHEETS

Willamette University

A LABORATORY MANUAL FOR SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Wilbert S. Ray. New York: American Book Company, 1951, pp. 173.

The author is definitely convinced about the importance of teaching social psychology by the laboratory method. To this end he has prepared and tested in classwork this manual, which is now submitted for extended use. It contains seventeen experiments for students to perform and report upon in a systematic way. Some of these experiments are: perceiving influenced by social factors, reliability of sampling results of polls, analysis of how rumor develops, the Thurstone-type scale, the Likert-type scale, the Bogardus social distance scale, testing the fidelity of testimony, raising the level of motivation, testing the Hooper rating system, the effect of a frame of reference on judgment, testing the curve of conformity.

While it may not be established that these seventeen experiments are the best that can be devised, yet they indicate practical possibilities in the teaching of social psychology that no alert teacher in the field can afford to overlook or to ignore. Some of the experiments are modifications of exercises that could be used in experimental individual psychology. For these, others of a distinctly social-psychological or interpersonal nature might be substituted. The laboratory method will require far more time than the lecture-discussion method; yet if it succeeds better in introducing the student to the "feel" of social psychology through its emphasis on participation and introductory research, it cannot be tossed casually aside.

E.S.B.

JOURNEY THROUGH UTOPIA. By Marie Louise Berneri. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951, pp. xii+339.

This book should prove to be useful as a guide to utopian literature and for an interpretation of the leading examples of utopias from antiquity to the present. To hark back to the ideas of antiquity, there is an appraisal of Plato's *The Republic* and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, and some attention is given to Aristophanes. The chapter on utopias of the Renaissance includes works of More, Campanella, Andreae, Bacon, and Rabelais. For a work to represent the period of the English Revolution, Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom* is examined at length. De Foigny and Diderot are stressed for the period of "The Enlightenment." Selections from utopias of the nineteenth century include Cabet's *Voyage to Icaria*, Lytton's *The Coming Race*, Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Morris' *News from Nowhere*, and Richter's *Pictures of the Socialistic Future*. Among modern utopias there are two by Wells—*A Modern Utopia* and *Men Like Gods*—Huxley's *Brave New World*, less well known works by Hertzka and Zamyatin, and an anonymous poem entitled *A Tramp's Utopia*.

Students of social reform will like this book because of its foundation materials and its statement of social ideals through the centuries. The influence of these writers on their contemporaries is shown with a citation of specific examples. There are references to aid the student who might wish to probe into works that are less familiar, including treatises in foreign languages.

J.E.N.

A SYLLABUS AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY. By William L. Ludlow. Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1951, pp. v+309.

The general treatment is to give a list of questions and brief notes, a few references to specific sections of standard texts, followed by an extended relatively unselected bibliography. It is divided into three general parts: the origin, history, and evolution of family and marriage relationships; courtship and marriage; and relationships in the family. Persons interested in given areas will find the bibliographical references fairly exhaustive on such topics as family life in preliterate, whom to marry, sex relations in the family, employment of women after marriage, housing the family, heredity and birth control, children, old age, divorce, the unmarried, and reconstructing the family. The book has thirty-five chapters on topics such as those listed above.

H.J.L.

OF SOCIETIES AND MEN. By Caryl P. Haskins. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1951, pp. 282.

The author of this exciting treatise is a prominent research scientist in the fields of biophysics, biochemistry, and genetics. He gathers together, in this, his third popular work, pertinent information from the disciplines mentioned above for the purpose of further illuminating the process of social evolution. From the perspective of social science it may be said that his book is in the area of comparative sociology, since developmental patterns are demonstrated to exist among some insect and animal societies which appear to have correlates in human social organizations. He shows how the three entelechies of evolution—complexity, integration, and specialization—characterize human social systems no less than they do the nonhuman.

The story of social change is shown to have two principal denouements. Some groups in their struggle to satisfy personal and collective needs organize in the direction of totalitarianism, while others are oriented to democracy. The conditions bringing about these divergent effects are carefully considered. A splendid case is made for the survival value of the democratic way. The ideals of freedom and flexibility appear as social values defining the criterion of a well-rounded individual and social life.

HAROLD T. DIEHL

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INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By E. Llewellyn Queener. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1951, pp. xiv+493.

Social psychology is defined broadly as the study of the individual's behavior "in response to stimuli from other individuals." It uses "the same concepts as general psychology" but specializes on "one type of stimulus-response situation," namely, "the relationship of organism to organism." The book examines "the variables of human behavior," which are considered to be culture, class, caste, sex, crisis, group, and individual characteristics. It also discusses "social attitudes as a function of the individual wide variable" and the possibility "of applying social psychology to the chemical and industrial fields." While the treatment is logical if one accepts the premises of the book, it is not clear that social psychology has no concepts of its own, that it is limited to considering variables in human behavior, or that it can be circumscribed in such a tightly organized structure.

E.S.B.

READINGS IN SOCIOLOGY. By Alfred M. Lee, Editor. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1951, pp. viii+439.

These readings will prove valuable for teachers of sociology in schools where library facilities are inadequate. The fifty selections are well chosen, but it may be questioned whether beginning students will be enthusiastic over being introduced at the outset to selections from Sumner and Spencer. The excerpts are organized under nine main headings: The Scientific Study of Human Relations, Socialization of the Individual, Human Ecology, Race, Intergroup Relations, Social Class, Collective Behavior, Institutions, and Sociology in Social Policy. A resourceful teacher will be able to tie together many of the ideas from fifty-six social scientists into a social science viewpoint of importance. The paper-cover edition of this new addition to the "College Outline Series" provides the student with a relatively inexpensive guide.

E.S.B.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN THOUGHT. By Frederick Mayer. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1951, pp. xiv+399.

The purpose of this volume is to represent the nature of the American mind as it appears to the philosopher—"to clarify its intellectual content." To this end, the ideas of both technical thinkers and philosophers are cited and weighed as contributions to the American heritage. The roots of American thought are in some instances traced back to the earlier classics which reached us through European influence.

The book is not sharply defined, though it is divided into four major sections. The first part notes the spirit of American philosophy, with its liberal and conservative contrasts, as carried up to the time of Thomas Jefferson. The second part deals with Emerson and the American Renaissance, transcendentalism, Thoreau, new conceptions of democracy which emerge, and the opposition between idealism and realism. In the third part the influence of the theory of evolution is considered, also the reform programs of the progressives, the development of personalism, idealism, and the growing influence of psychology. Special attention is given to William James' views on pragmatism, the will, and education. Part Four outlines the principal phases of national expansion and internationalism, the roles of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson being stressed. Other features of this fourth part are: John Dewey and his interests in education, scientific method, morality, and religion; the philosophy of the "return to normalcy" in the 1920's; Santayana and his social ideals; the program of the New Deal. Some

attention is given to contemporary trends, and, by way of a summary, there is a statement of the functions of philosophy, with its shifting patterns, in American life.

This survey draws on many areas of American life, and there are numerous brief excerpts from the works of authors cited, so that first-hand statements are made convenient for the student, although the book is not to be regarded as a book of readings. The author's intention has been to integrate and interpret materials for a college course on this subject.

J.E.N.

ESSENTIALS IN INTERVIEWING. For the Interviewer—Offering Professional Services. By Anne F. Fenlason. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952, pp. xi+352.

In this work the late Anne Fenlason aimed to show "how background knowledge afforded by the social sciences can be put to use in understanding and working effectively with people." The materials are designed for use in an undergraduate course. "A good interview represents both a verbal and a nonverbal interaction between two or more people working toward a common goal." Considerable emphasis is placed on culture and the role it plays "in the development of personality" and on the functioning "of an individual in a culture." Special attention is given to the role of attitudes and to changes in attitudes in the interview. Actual interviews are reported throughout each chapter; they serve as excellent teaching materials.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL FICTION

MELVILLE GOODWIN, USA. A Novel by John P. Marquand. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951, pp. 596.

In his latest novel author Marquand attempts to dissect the successful military mentality, possessed by a product of West Point in the person of Melville Goodwin, a two-star general. The general had been the son of a small-town New Hampshire druggist. Early in his adolescence he had become intrigued with a soldier's life. He is married to his girl of high school days on graduation day from the military academy, and only a short time intervenes before he is in France fighting with the American forces.

At the close of World War II he is in his fifties and has become a general. With the occupation of Berlin by the Americans he first comes before public attention. Walking down a Berlin street, he saw an American soldier being seized by a Russian officer and rescued him. Afterward,

he merely said that all he did was to push aside the gun and give the Russian a friendly slap on the back. The incident was enough to show that probably General Goodwin had averted the beginning of the third war.

After a brief sojourn in Paris, where he meets Dottie Peale—rich, fortyish, and enticingly dangerous—he returns to America with a well-known radio broadcaster, Sidney Skelton, who has been assigned to publicize both the incident and the great American general. Sidney and Mel are, despite their successes, vaguely discontented. Mel and his aspiring, drab wife, Muriel, are immediately hustled to Skelton's Connecticut estate for the broadcast. This gives the novelist a chance to rehearse the life of Mel and to outline the development and growth of a soldier's mind. Both Skelton and Goodwin have quietly dominating wives, who watch and pray over the careers of their husbands. Marquand, with a delicate, ironical touch, indicates that the women hold the winning cards. In sketching the general's mind, there is nothing much to indicate that it is too different from the successful businessman's preoccupation with his own line of endeavor. Goodwin, outside the army, is uncomfortable, although for a brief time he toys with the idea of leaving Muriel and the army for love in a cottage with Dottie. However, Dottie is not the kind of woman to live with a "plump, middle-aged nonentity whom you might meet at a golf club and whose face you could not place." Only Muriel really understands Mel and his love for the army life and Pentagon orders. In the end, she runs him just as she has done ever since they first met. The novel is filled with those penetrating observations of life and situation which the author has so well demonstrated in his other novels.

M.J.V.

SOCIAL PHOTOPLAY NOTES

JAPANESE WAR BRIDE.

A G.I. marries an attractive young nurse (ably played by Shirley Yamaguchi), who has been reared according to Japanese customs and traditions. They come to California to live on his parents' ranch near Salinas, and at once white prejudice begins to assert itself against the petite bride, whose sensitive feelings are repeatedly hurt. The husband stands by his frustrated wife even when their first-born son is called a "Jap" baby. A sister-in-law of the husband schemingly forges a letter to break up the mixed marriage, but to no avail except to create more frustration for the bride.

The motion picture shows (1) the wide chasm between Japanese customs and current American ways of doing. It shows (2) the slow and gradual bridging of the chasm by love and by understanding of the differences to be met. It shows (3) some of the evils of race prejudice. It shows (4) the underhandedness to which prejudiced persons will go in magnifying racial differences. It shows (5) some of the problems involved in interracial marriages and how racial farness can be overcome. The acting is well done and with few exceptions the directing is understandingly carried out.

E.S.B.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

BASIC PRECEPTS ON THE PHYSIOLOGY AND PATHOLOGY OF LEADERSHIP. By Carlo M. Flumiani. Santa Clara, California: Institute for Political and Economic Studies, 1952, pp. 41.

THE AMERICAN ECONOMY. From the Civil War to 1940. By A. F. Youngson Brown. New York: Library Publishers, 1951, pp. 208.

THE SCALPEL OF SCOTLAND YARD. The Life of Scotland Yard. By Douglas G. Brown and E. V. Tullett. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1952, pp. 503.

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND PSYCHOTHERAPY FOR CHILDREN. By Otto Pollak *et al.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952, pp. 242.

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MAN THE MAKER. By G. N. M. Tyrrell. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1952, pp. 311.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SEX EDUCATION. By Hugo G. Beigel. New York: Stephen Daye Press, 1952, pp. 441.

DOCTORS IN BLUE. By George W. Adams. New York: Henry Schuman, 1952, pp. 253.

LEGACY FOR OUR SONS. A Novel. By Garth Hale. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1952, pp. 319.